

**The Ambassador Juan
Ramírez de Lucena, the
father of the chessbook
writer Lucena**



Govert Westerveld

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Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca

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DEDICATION

**I dedicate this work to the descendants of Jewish families expelled
from Spain in 1492.**

Preface

This is the first bibliography in English of the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena (1430-1504) who was one of the ambassadors of the Catholic monarchs. He was the father of Lucena, the writer of a chess book that was published in Salamanca in 1997.

In Spain we had two important books in the past. The first one is called *Don Quijote of La Mancha* and was written by Miguel Cervantes de Saavedra. Published in two volumes in 1605 and 1615 *Don Quixote* is considered one of the most influential works of literature from the Spanish Golden Age and the entire Spanish literary canon. The novel *Don Quixote* has been translated, in full or in part, into more than 60 languages. It is common knowledge that *Don Quixote* has sold over 500 million copies and, in fact, that number is a conservative estimate. It is often regarded as the second best-selling book after the Bible, and at least conceded as the greatest selling work of fiction of all time, without a close second. The second book is *La Celestina* written according to many authors by Fernando de Rojas.

I am stating this because we can only fully understand the work of *La Celestina* if we know the bibliography of the son Lucena and his father, the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena. And I dare say the same about the history of chess. We can only fully understand the new game of chess and the various printed chess books in Spain and Italy between 1495 and 1530 if we know the bibliography of the son Lucena and that of his father. Because of this fact and requests of various chess historians I decided to write the bibliography of Juan Ramírez de Lucena in English.

The fact that Lucena in his book *Arte de Ajedrez* of 1497 dedicated to Prince Johan III (1478-1497), the only male child of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella I, refers to his father, the ambassador of the

Catholic monarchs is rather suspicious. Lucena's book contains 150 chess problems, i.e. 75 problems with the new rules of chess and 75 problems from medieval chess. Now knowing more about the son Lucena's activities in Spain and Italy it is clear that the protonotary had an important library of books. Aware of this Lucena used the books and manuscripts of his father for printing purposes.

There still remains the question of how it was possible that Bernard Fenollar could arrange the new rules in chess. He had the help of two other poets: Narcis Vinyoles and Francesc Castellví. Thus we come to the year 1473 when Juan Ramirez de Lucena went to France to defend the interests of Johan II of Aragon, as well as a secret mission to defend the interests of Isabella I of Castile and her husband Ferdinand II of Aragon. The protonotary's diplomatic activity in those years did not meet the approval of King Johan II who called Juan Ramírez de Lucena the servant of Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza.

Being ambassador of a kingdom was not an easy job in 1473 for Juan Ramírez de Lucena. The king of France Louis XI, who was making active preparations for the forcible occupations of Rousillon and Cerdagne, was determined to gain time by amusing the ambassadors with a show of negotiation and interposing every obstacle with his ingenuity that could devise their progress through his dominions. He succeeded so much in the latter part of this scheme that the embassy did not reach Paris until the end of Lent (Spring) in 1474. Louis XI, who seldom resided in this capital, ensured to be absent at this time. The ambassadors in the interim were entertained with balls, festivities, military reviews, and whatever else might divert them from the real objects of their mission. All communication was cut off with their own government as their couriers were stopped and their dispatches intercepted.

In other words our protonotary and ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena had enough time to study the chess literature in France on top of the chess literature he had already studied in the Papal court and in the diverse Italian provinces. There was no way that he could

fulfill his diplomatic missions. In all those months the protonotary was thus able to acquire knowledge of the history of chess in France. No doubt that being in the highest circles of the French courtiers he could have seen various chess manuscripts and been the man who passed the French chess game with the weak dame to Valencia when he returned from his diplomatic mission in 1474.

Knowing the biography of the protonotary and his activities in Italy and France in the highest sphere of society it is clear that his son Lucena could take advantage of this, because his father had opened the door in many places. No doubt that during the life of the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena his son visited these places in Italy and France, as Lucena himself confirmed in the chess treaty of 1497.

Still now there are no books about the life of the son Lucena after 1497 and I believe to have solved this enigma. Therefore as the first step we must know the life of Juan Ramírez de Lucena. Thanks to the efforts of Professor Angel Alcalá and others I could write the first bibliography about the protonotary Juan Ramirez de Lucena in Spanish in 2006. Now, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Jeronimo Miguel Briongos I am able to extend the bibliography of Juan Ramirez de Lucena. This time I write it in English so that the whole world can know the importance of this ambassador of the Catholic monarchs. Some of the Spanish documents are not translated into English, but they are needed for future research.

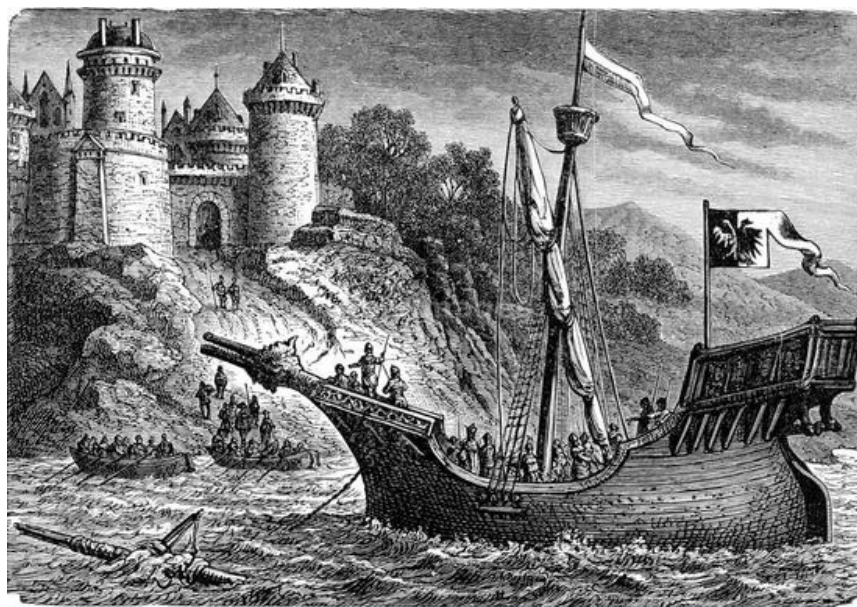
The author of this book expresses his special gratitude and thanks to Prof. Ángel Alcalá and Dr. Jerónimo Miguel Briongos who helped him with additional information and photos.

Govert Westerveld

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Hanseatic ship, XV-century

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In the early nineties I became friends with Dr. Ricardo Calvo who visited my home several times. When I was invited by him in 1993 to assist in the Chess Congress of the Königstein Gruppe in the Max Euwe Centre of Amsterdam, it quickly became clear to me that I was among the best Chess historians in the world.



On the Chinese rice table with Ricardo Calvo and our respective spouses.

That time I brought with me to Amsterdam the hypothesis of the new powerful dama in the chess and draughts game and it was Prof. Dr. Bauer who invited me to write about it for one of his books. In this way my hypothesis was published one year later¹.

¹ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1994). Historia de la nueva dama poderosa en el juego de Ajedrez y Damas. (History of the new powerful Queen in the game of chess and draught), pages 103-225. Homo Ludens: Der spielende Mensch IV, Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an

Prof. Dr. Joachim Petzold from Berlin, whom I met in Amsterdam, encouraged me in 1994 to continue my investigations, because according to him Dr. Ricardo Calvo or myself would clarify the situation of the new powerful dama. In 1997 I published the history of the new powerful dama². I placed the English introduction of the book on the internet³ within a year. For all those years Rob Jansen from Amsterdam had helped me with valuable information about the history of draughts.

Following the publication of my book «*La reina Isabel la Católica: su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna del ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas*», Generalidad Valenciana. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport», at the beginning of 2004 in which José Antonio Garzon Roger collaborated with me I learned that the professor of the University of Stanford Marilyn Yalom⁴ supported my idea of a lifetime since 1987 that the Queen (Dama/Lady) of the chess game and Dama (Lady) in the draughts game modeled Isabel

der Hochschule "Mozarteum" - Salzburg. Herausgegeben von Prof. Mag. Dr. Günther C. Bauer.

² **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1997). La influencia de la reina Isabel la Católica sobre la nueva dama poderosa en el origen del juego de las damas y el ajedrez moderno". ISBN 84-605-6372-3 - 329 pp. - Prólogo del Dr. Ricardo Calvo y del Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes - Universidad de Murcia (In Dutch language).

³ See Index I at the end of this book.

⁴ **YALOM, Marilyn** (2004) Birth of the Chess Queen. London, Pandora Press, 2004 On 23 October 2004 she informed me by phone that she had seen my book of 1997 that was in the National Library of The Hague. I received an email from her with the following text:

«Yes, I am familiar with your work and cite it in my book. We agree (as did that great pioneer Ricardo Calvo) that Isabella I of Castile was deeply implicated in the establishment of the new long-legged chess queen and, as you point out, in the game of draughts. It was a labor of love for me to research and write *Birth of the Chess Queen* - a project that brought me to the Royal Library in the Hague, to the Cleveland Public Library on several occasions, and to Spain (Madrid and Catalonia).»

of Castile, and what is more important, the evidence is found in Ms Sachs d'amor⁵.



Chronicle / Chris Stewart

Marilyn Yalom (Chronicle / Chris Stewart)

José Antonio Garzón Roger had found in *Scachs d'amor*, according to my instructions⁶, the proofs that Isabel the Catholic was the new

⁵ **VINYLES, NARCÍS** (1475?). *Escacs d'amor*, Valencia; Edición de Antonio Ferrando Francés, Universitat de València, Facultat de Filologia, Narcís Vinyoles i la seua obra, Valencia, 1978.

CALVO, Ricardo (1999). El poema *Scachs d'amor*. (Siglo XV). Análisis y comentarios por Ricardo Calvo.

GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio (2001). En pos del incunable perdido Francesch Vicent: *Llibre dels jochs partits dels schachs*, Valencia, 1495.

⁶ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004). La reina Isabel la Católica: su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna del ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas, Generalidad Valenciana. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport, Valencia, p. 42. Garzon states in his Epilogue: «Without Westerveld I would never have revised the manuscript *Scachs d'amor*, and it was he who gave me the new

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powerful queen in the chess game. After 2004 it was clear to me that I had to investigate the life of Lucena, but unfortunately that was a very difficult job, because we do not know anything about him.



**José Antonio Garzón Roger, Professor Ángel Alcalá and Govert Westerveld
(Valencia, 2006)**

We know that he wrote in 1497 the two books *Repetición de amores* and *Arte de Ajedrez* which were published in Salamanca. Another book that he probably also wrote in 1497 was *Tractado sobre la muerte de Don Diego de Azevedo*. However, after this date Lucena disappeared completely. For that reason I decided to publish at first the biography of his father, the ambassador of the Catholic Monarchs Juan Ramirez de Lucena and thereafter the work of his son Lucena.

eyes to look at it. This has allowed us to precisely date not only the manuscript but also the actual origin of modern chess (1475-1476)».

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For that purpose I had to study many dissertations, books, and articles on the life of the Lucena family. It became clear to me that the university is one closed circle. Nobody at the university was aware of the great research about the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena done by Máximo Diago who worked in the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales.



Govert Westerveld and Jerónimo Miguel Briongos in 2011

One of the earliest researchers of Juan Ramírez de Lucena was Professor Dr. Ángel Alcalá in New York. On the other hand I learned that Jerónimo Miguel Briongos of Barcelona was working on a dissertation about *Vita Beata* of Juan Ramírez de Lucena. In 2006 I finished my biography of this protonotary and Professor Alcalá was kind to write its foreword.

In the meantime José Antonio Garzón Roger had written in 2005 another book on Francesch Vicent showing that the Italian manuscripts of Cesena and Perugia had the full text of the chess book published in Valencia in 1495. Little by little it was accepted in the chess world that Isabel la Católica was the new powerful chess queen on the chess board. However, there was still opposition from the University of Valencia.

Being sure that Jerónimo Miguel Briongos would prepare a precious dissertation about Juan Ramírez de Lucena I did not lose any attempt to convince him that the world was waiting for it. We had several meetings in Barcelona in various years to discuss the papers of the protonotary. One of his most exiting discoveries was that Juan Ramírez de Lucena was working with Prince Ferdinand in Aragon before Ferdinand married Isabel I in 1469.

Prof. Antoni Ferrando I Francés

The true expert on the poem *Scachs d'amor* written by the three poets (Francesc Castellví, Narcís Vinyoles, and Bernat Fenollar is Professor Antonio Ferrando who cannot agree to the hypothesis of Isabel la Católica either⁷:

Hi ha alguns estudiosos dels escac que veuen en la prohibicion que les reines lluiten entre elles una allusio al conflicte entre la reina isabel la catolica i la seua germanastra juana la beltraneja i, en l'atribucion a la reina dels atributs del rei (pom, ceptre y cadira), un homenatge a la reina de castella. Per a garzon, l'afirmacio als escas d'amor que les reynes tals que.n tot poden y manen evocaria les capitulaciones matrimoniales entre isabel de castella i ferran d'arago, que implica per al futur rei d'arago l'obligaco de residir als dominis d'isabel. Si fos aixi, tindriem un nou argument per a situar la datacio dels escas d'amor cap a 1475, ja que el conflicte civil castella esclata el 1474, arran de la mort d'Enric IV de Castella. Ara be, aquestes hipotesis, que no tenen cap suport documental, son dificilment

⁷ **FERRANDO I FRANCÉS, Antoni** (2012) Noves aportacions a Narcís Vinyoles. Edició de Lo «Credo in Deum» aplicat per sos articles a la Mare de Déu d'Esperança y los goigs. In: Estudios sobre el *Cancionero general* (Valencia, 1511) Poesía, manuscrito e imprenta, pp. 479-506, citation on pp. 486 and 487.

deduïbles del nostre poema. La reina Isabel I de Castella no serà consort reial a la corona d'Aragó fins al 1479 i, per tant, difícilment podria ser objecte d'homeatge per part d'algu que no n'era subdit. D'altra part, no estaven vinculats a la cort reial cap dels tres autors, ja que, si bé Francesc de Castellví ja era, el 1464 cambrer de l'infant Ferran d'Aragó (el futur Ferran II), no n'esdevindrà majordom real fins al 1476, i Bernat Fenollar tampoc serà nomenat capella i mestre de capella de Ferran II fins al 1479. En tot cas, cal fer notar que l'augment del poder de la reina coincidí amb els objectius de l'al·legoria amorosa: enfront de la poligàmia dels vilants, les lleys d'amorosa malícia, sentenien una dama per a cada rei. La restricció de la presència duplicada de la dama al tauler tindrà com a contrapartida l'assimilació total del seu poder al del rei (Bataller / Narbon⁸ 1991:56).

Translation from Valencian:

Here are some chess scholars who see in the prohibition that the chess queens fight between them an allusion to the conflict between the Catholic Queen Isabel and her sister Juana the Beltraneja in attribution to the queen the attributes of the King (pom, scepter, and chair), a tribute to the Queen of Spain. For Garzon the assertion of Scachs d'amor that the Queens are worth much as they can command everything and even send and evoke the capitulations of marriage between Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon implies future obligation of the King of Aragon to reside in Elizabeth's domains. If so, we would have a new argument to place the dating of the check of love on 1475 as the civil conflict in Castile broke in 1474 following the death of Henry IV of Castile. However, to these conditions they have no documentary support and they are very difficult to deduct from our poem. Queen of Castile Isabel will not consort Royal Crown of Aragon until 1479 and therefore could hardly be subject to homage by someone who was not himself citizen. On the other hand she was not linked to any of the three authors of the Royal Court because although already Castellví Francis was in 1464 waiter of Prince Ferdinand of Aragon (later Ferdinand II), he did not become real butler until 1476 and Bernard Fenollar would not be named chapel and choirmaster of Ferdinand II until 1479. In any event it should be noted that the increasing power of the queen coincides with the objectives of the allegory love: against polygamy of the villains the law of love malice, a lady understandable for each king. The restriction of the duplicated presence of the lady on the board will have as counterpart the assimilation of the total power of the king.

⁸ **BATALLER, Alexandre; NARBON, Carme** (1991). Escacs d'amor: una obertura al joc, A Sol Post, 3 (1991), pp. 45-74.

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Professor Antoni Ferrano I Francés and José Antonio Garzón Roger

Finally, in 2012 Jerónimo Miguel Briongos finished his doctoral dissertation “De Vita Felici o diálogo sobre la vida feliz, de Juan de Lucena: edición crítica (School for Postgraduate - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona). In those years there was a website in Valencia that was defending Isabel la Católica as the Valencian Dama⁹. Shortly thereafter there became a new website dedicated exclusively to Francesch Vicent¹⁰. Garzón did not rest to promote Francesch Vicent and the result was that the cineast Agustí Mezquida took interest in this matter.

⁹ http://www.valenciacunadelajedrezmoderno.com/la_dama_valenciana

¹⁰ <http://www.origenvalencianodelajedrez.com>

Initially the idea was clear that Isabel la Católica was the new powerful queen in chess and I sounded out Mezquida before the interview and film and whether this idea was in danger, because there was opposition against this idea. The cineast assured me that this was not a problem since all was based on Isabel la Católica.

However, the filmmaker made his own chess history to promote his film without any background of chess history and so we saw the following text figure in most Spanish newspapers¹¹ on 17 November 2014:

Es en el poema alegórico *Scachs d'Amor*, datado en 1475 y obra de tres autores valencianos, donde por primera vez se menciona la aparición de la dama en el juego, con lo que quedaría descartado que esta pieza se inspirara en la figura de la reina Isabel la Católica.

Translation

It is in the allegorical poem *Scachs d'Amor*, dated 1475 and work of three Valencian authors, where the appearance of the lady in the game is mentioned for the first time, which would be ruled out that this piece was inspired by the figure of the queen Isabella.

Those who know the chess history are well aware that the weak lady was used in chess in France for several centuries, so the statement that the *appearance of the lady in the game is mentioned for the first time* is not true. Other newspapers followed Mezquida and arbitrarily changed certain words, and so we see the following text¹² appearing on www.thinkspain.com on 6 December 2014:

The allegorical poem *Scachs d'Amor*, written jointly by three authors in 1475 in an early form of *Catalán*, the language spoken on the east coast of Spain and which evolves into *Valenciano* between the provinces of

¹¹ <http://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/2014/11/17/546a0da1e2704e08268b458e.html>

¹² <http://www.thinkspain.com/news/versionimprimir.asp?x=34tger634sdg34&y=5346345645634&CodNoticia=25214>

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Castellón and Alicante, mentions the queen for the first time, proving that she was not, as originally believed, based upon Isabel of Castilla.

Scriptwriter and director Agustí Mezquida believes it is more likely the chess queen was based upon María of Castilla, consort of King Alfonso the Magnanimous, although chess expert Marilyn Yalom of Stanford University in the USA believes the chess queen does not come from one specific figure, but from several, since centuries ago queens began to play a much greater role in governing.



Agustí Mezquida preparing me for the film

A similar notice appeared in the ABC newspaper on 8 March 2014. Suddenly the work of José Antonio Garzón Roger who confirmed my hypothesis of the new powerful chess queen and my own research of the latest 25 years were worthless. Fortunately José Antonio Garzón Roger contacted ABC citing the history of the actual development of the new powerful lady in chess and ABC

amended his article of March 8 2014 to rectified one of March 11 2014:

Estos hechos están documentados y a los investigadores, con **José Antonio Garzón** a la cabeza, les consta que la obra de Vicent ayudó a popularizar el nuevo poder que adquirió la dama (o reina) en tiempos de **Isabel la Católica**, aunque se citan otras influencias, como **María de Castilla** y otras monarcas occidentales. En cualquier caso, aquella pieza conocida hasta entonces como alferza, de alcance limitado, se convirtió en la más poderosa del tablero, suceso trascendente del que ya se había hecho eco el poema «**Scachs de amor**», datado en 1475. Garzón, en concreto, considera que la figura de Isabel la Católica como modelo real de la nueva dama del ajedrez goza de consenso internacional. «El investigador holandés **Govert Westerveld** es quien estudió y acreditó la cuestión», asegura.

Translation:

These facts are documented and researchers, with José Antonio Garzón at the helm, are aware that Vicent's work helped popularize the new power acquired by the queen (or queen) in the times of Isabel the Catholic, although other influences are mentioned, such as Maria de Castilla and other western monarchs. In any case, that piece alferza known until then, limited in move, became the most powerful on the board, a transcendent event that had already echoed the poem "Scachs d'amor" from 1475. Garzon in particular considers that the figure of Isabella as a real model of the new chess lady enjoys international consensus. "It is the Dutch researcher Govert Westerveld who studied and credited the issue" he says.

However, the damage was done. Now the cineast was converted into a chess historian. Seeing this strange development in the Valencian community I feel forced to rewrite the history of chess in Spain in that period with more proofs. I can do that because I was keeping several aces up my sleeve for all those years. This time I will do it in English, so that other chess experts in the world can also follow my research in Spain.

Today we are witnesses to multiple identities in decentralized Spain. At this very moment Spain has 17 autonomous communities: Catalonia, Madrid, Andalusia, Valencia, Basque Country, Castile and León, Galicia, the Canary Islands, Castile-La Mancha, Aragon, Murcia, the Balearic Islands, Asturias, Navarre, Extremadura, Cantabria, and La Rioja. The persistence of dual self-identification expressed by citizens in the Spanish autonomous communities (nationalities and regions) can lead to confusion in historical research.

The 14th Symposium on the Catalan Discovery of the Americas gave interesting points of view. Visitors and historical researchers were informed that Christopher Columbus, Miguel de Cervantes, Leonardo da Vinci, Amerigo Vespucci, Hernán Cortés were all of Catalan origin. According to the Institut Nova Història (INH) the Catalan history has been systematically ignored and altered by the Castilian powers-that-be from the 15th century onwards¹³.

After the election in the Valencian Community one sees in the Spanish newspaper that the new politic leaders prefer not to use the the term country:

El tripartito formado por PSOE, Compromís y Podemos que gobernará la Generalitat antepone el término País Valenciano a la denominación oficial de Comunidad Valenciana que establece el Estatuto de Autonomía y evita pronunciar el término España en su primer documento oficial, que no ha sido distribuido en castellano a los medios de comunicación.

Translation

The three parties of PSOE, Compromís, and Podemos which will rule the Generalitat prefix the term Valencian Country to the official denomination of Valencian Community that the Statute of Autonomy establishes, and avoid pronouncing the word Spain in their first official document, which has not been distributed to the media in the Castilian language.

¹³ **SEGURA, Cristian** (2014). Were Columbus, Cervantes and Leonardo da Vinci really Catalan? In: El País, Newspaper of the 26th November. (www.elpais.com).

Augustin Escolano Benito of the University of Valladolid is very clear when he refers to the Spanish national identity¹⁴ and he refers to my colleague the Hispanist Carolyn Patricia Boyd:

En la reciente publicación de Carolyn P. Boyd sobre el desarrollo histórico de la identidad nacional en España, la hispanista norteamericana sostiene que nuestro país no ha llegado a socializar o “nacionalizar” al pueblo. No es posible profundizar aquí en esta cuestión de tan profundo calado histórico. Según esta autora, los escasos esfuerzos cívicos que se llevaron a cabo desde la Restauración no lograron acrisolar un curriculum moral moderno de alcance nacional, que tendría que haberse plasmado en una escuela integradora y universal. La instrumentación política de la historia –de nuevo manifiesta en el debate actual sobre la enseñanza de las humanidades– impidió crear un imaginario colectivo solidario y un proyecto público de cultura asumido por todos. La última dictadura exacerbó un nacionalismo sesgado y hasta cierta amnesia histórica¹⁵.

Translation:

In the recent publication of Carolyn P. Boyd of the historical development of national identity in Spain the North American Hispanist argues that our country has not come to socialize or "nationalize" the people. It is not possible to deepen here on this issue of so profound historical importance. According to her the few civic efforts undertaken since the Restoration failed to bring out a modern moral curriculum nationwide, which should have been reflected in an inclusive and universal school. The political exploitation of history - again evident in the current debate on the teaching of humanities - prevented creating a solidarity collective imagination and a public cultural project undertaken by all. The last dictatorship exacerbated a biased nationalism and even some historical amnesia.

My countryman Chris van der Heijden warned about the political influences on history¹⁶: «the truth is undeniably intertwined with

¹⁴ **ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín** (2005). Memoria del Currículum y Formación de Maestros. In: Principios del currículum: IV Jornadas de Teorías e Instituciones Educativas Contemporáneas, pp. 11-30. Citation in p. 23.

¹⁵ **BOYD, Carolyn Patricia** (1997). Historia Patria. Politics, History and National Identity in Spain. 1875-1975. New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1997.

¹⁶ **HEIJDEN, Chris van der** (2003). De veranderlijkheid van de historische waarde. In: Dutch newspaper “Vrij Nederland”, 6th December, 2003.

power». Working as Hispanist implies looking for the true history of a country and then I should think involuntarily of the words of Joe Murray¹⁷: «More and more I tend to read history. I often find it more up to date than the daily newspapers».

In other words historians have to be scrupulously fair and neutral with their words and they should not be left influenced by fear. They cannot lose time to adjust to the social, religious, ideological, and political predominant model. The sense of freedom and justice must prevail above all. The story has to be a true reflection. If not, there is no history, but novels comfortable to an authoritarian sector.

¹⁷ **MURRAY, Joe** (1992). "History updates current events," *Spartanburg Herald-Journal*, May 10th 1992.

CHAPTER II: THE FAMILY OF LUCENA, THE CHESS WRITER

Juan Ramirez de Lucena, grandfather of Lucena

We know virtually nothing about Lucena the author of a chess book. To clarify this mystery and to form a hypothesis about the real name of this person it is definitely necessary to study in depth the lives of his family members in order to rule out the many assumptions that have been spread about him and his father, the protonotary Juan Ramirez de Lucena, and even his grandfather also named Juan Ramirez de Lucena, who has repeatedly been confused with Martin de Lucena, the Machabeo.

Many thought and still think that the protonotary was the son of the doctor of Marquis de Santiago Martín González de Lucena, referring to ancient documents without taking into account the documentation of the last ten years¹⁸. Carrete Parrondo has efficiently investigated that the father of the protonotary converted¹⁹ to Christianity as did his mother Catalina Ramirez²⁰ who was a native of Medinaceli²¹.

¹⁸ **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. (249-272), cited on p. 251.

¹⁹ **AGS**, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fol. 992v. Cited by Carlos Carrete Parrondo (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (pp. 168 – 179), p. 171.

²⁰ **AGS**, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fol. 969v. Cited by Carlos Carrete Parrondo (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (pp. 168 – 179), p. 171.

²¹ **AGS**, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fol. 990r. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora.

Both lived in Soria and Juan Ramírez de Lucena, who converted to Christianity from the Jewish religion, was resident in Soria during the reigns of Juan II and Enrique IV. Catalina Ramirez was the sister of Isaque Pesquer's, son of Simuel Pesquer, grandfather of the protonotary²², deceased in 1440²³ and who lived in what would be the Soria²⁴ Customs house. Catalina Ramirez had sisters²⁵ Mira Ramirez who lived near the neighboring castle of Soria; Paloma who died before 1491, and a Jewish sister whose name is unknown.

As we have seen, the mother of the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena was Catalina Ramirez, the daughter of Simuel Pesquer who served Carlos de Arellano²⁶ the second Lord of Cameros belonging to the upper nobility during the XV century in Soria.

Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (pp. 168 – 179), p. 171.

²² **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1990). La Extremadura soriana y su ámbito a fines de la Edad Media, Universidad Complutense 1990, pp. 1039 y ss.

²³ **AGS**, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fol. 954v. Cited by Carlos Carrete Parrondo (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (pp. 168 – 179), p. 171.

²⁴ **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (pp. 168 – 179), p. 171.

²⁵ **AGS**, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fols. 997v. y 989v. Cited by Carlos Carrete Parrondo (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (pp. 168 – 179), p. 171.

²⁶ **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1992). Judíos y judeoconversos en Soria en el siglo XV. Volumen 43, Nº. 84, (pp. 225-253), p. 226.

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The Marquis of Santillana, godfather of Juan Ramírez de Lucena

Simuel Pesquer was also the father of Ysaque Pesquer who at the time of Juan II was one of the most relevant Soriano Jews as he served the monarchy as tax assessor. During 1440 - 1445 he was landlord of tithes and customs of the three bishoprics of Calahorra, Osma, and Sigüenza²⁷, and must have had such an important role in

²⁷ **LADERO QUESADA, MIGUEL ANGEL** (1975). Los judíos castellanos del siglo XV en el arrendamiento de los impuestos reales. In: Cuadernos de Historia, (6): (pp. 417-439), p. 435. Cited by Carlos Carrete Parrondo (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (pp. 168 – 179), p. 171.

the fiscal control of border trade in the Sorian area that the Collado house was intended to become the customs house in the city of Soria.

Juan Ramirez de Lucena was one of the most important businessmen in Castile, at the time of Enrique IV, who established his residence in Soria but intervened in many areas of the kingdom, being aware of its link to Valladolid where the Inquisition found property in the XVI century. The words of the historian Diago describe the importance of this Christian convert very well:

"As a Christian he was actively involved in leasing and revenue collection of the Monarchy. Not only in the geographical scope of the Bishop of Osma, but also in many other areas of the kingdom of Castile, counting among its company members that at the end of the reign of Juan II and the beginning of the reign of Enrique IV took charge of collecting all "alcaba" tax by thirds in the kingdom by "mass"²⁸. His relations with the businessmen of the main cities of Castile closest to the Soriano area were notorious, highlighting in particular those established with Burgos, including (as it well known) then Christian converts²⁹ abounded. The extent of his vision made him participant as the prototypical member of the Castilian "middle class" of the time and his former fellow Jews who, as we saw, manifested throughout XV century a large degree of mobility and interaction with each other regardless of their places of neighborhood³⁰".

The protonotary's father was very interested in getting admitted to the lineage of the Chancilleres despite not having noble blood for being of Jewish origin. His in-law Hernánd (Fernán) Martinez de San Clemente, also a Christian convert, had already joined the lineage of Chancilleres in 1432, since the distribution of members of the lineage of Chancilleres was by thirds as agreed by arbitration

²⁸ AGS, Escribanía Mayor de Rentas, Legajo 6. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1992). Judíos y judeoconversos en Soria en el siglo XV. Volumen 43, Nº. 84, (pp. 225-253), p. 239 y 250.

²⁹ Vid. AGS, Escribanía Mayor de Rentas, Legajo 15, folio 78. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1992). Judíos y judeoconversos en Soria en el siglo XV. Volumen 43, Nº. 84, (pp. 225-253), p. 239 y 250, p. 239.

³⁰ **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1992). Judíos y judeoconversos en Soria en el siglo XV. Volumen 43, Nº. 84, (pp. 225-253), p. 239.

award in 1432, Fernan Martinez of San Clemente at Alvar González de Hizana was assigned. The entry of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, grandfather of the author of our book of chess of 1496, had to be after 1432.

The Protonotary's mother, Catalina Ramirez, died not being Jewish³¹, but secretly continued with her Jewish practices and sorcery¹⁵ as seen in various research documents by order of the Inquisition¹⁶.

7 (page20) Soria, July 20, 1490. Mother of the protonotary

On this day, in front of the inquisitors, Don Abrahén Bienveniste, a resident of Soria, said that more than twelve years ago he heard it said while being a witness at the synagogue, Don Yucá Leuí (el Moço), now a deceased resident of Soria, said to a few Jews there in the synagogue and to this witness that the protonotary or his mother, and it is affirmed that this witness said that the protonotary, who left him in charge of a few things that were left to the protonotary by his grandfather Don Simuel Pesquer, had left the synagogue because he didn't want to lose them, and the protonotary promised to give Don Yuca two or three thousand mrs. for the things at the synagogue. And he doesn't know if this witness said whether he received them.

8 (page 20-21) Soria, July 20, 1490. Mother of the protonotary

On this day appeared Catalyna Sanches, a girl and resident of Soria, a friend of the priest of Villel who was also a resident of Soria, and said that this witness was very short, that one day - doesn't remember what day – she was sent by her father to the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, resident of Soria, mother of the protonotary de Luçena, and that is why the witness entered the house of the mother of de Juan Ramirez de Lucena, calling out to whoever answered. And since the house was large and they didn't find anyone responding, they entered room by room until they were deeply inside and they found a palace. They entered the palace and saw that it was well swept, very clean, and there were many candles and bowls for oil lit near the wall. They allowed marvelous clarity, and the wife of Juan

³¹ AGS, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fol. 1082v. Cited by Carlos Carrete Parrondo (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (pp. 168 – 179), p. 171.

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Ramírez de Lucena had a woman with her. And because the witness entered, they saw her, the wife of Juan Ramírez de Lucena who sent the female servant to throw the witness out, and the servant was told: "Take care of the girl" and the woman took the witness outside. The woman took the milk the girl was carrying and after the girl returned to her father's house, told her mother: "Oh! The trip cost us dearly. I went to the house as your daughter - and was taken to task, I and another woman who was told by the mistress of the house to show me out of the door. Oh, the candles!" The witness does not remember what day this was. The witness told her mother that she was told by the female servant not to send milk to the house of her mistress, the wife of Juan Ramírez de Lucena, because she was given the order by her mistress that she would send her own servant for the milk. The witness said that it was more than thirty years since this was said, and that the witness saw everything as she told it.

9 (page 99) Soria, July 21, 1490 Father of the protonotary

And it is said that the witness at the time of the death of the king Don Juan - God keep him in all his glory - brought to the city of Soria, and coming from the honor of the church, this witness saw there Juan Ramirez de Lucena, resident of Soria, defunct, and who saw the named Juan Ramirez de Lucena that came behind a Jew, the more foolish the Jewish quarter, and behind, this witness saw Juan de Lucena stop for a while and he said to this Jew: "Come thou pass, you are worth more than me, what will you say in the synagogue?"

27 (Page 30) Soria, July 23, 1490 Mother of the protonotary

On this day appeared before the inquisitors Yoná Michi, Jewish resident of Soria and parchmener, and said that for twenty years now this witness had lit the lamps of the synagogue of this city's castle, and that in such synagogue a lamp is lit by a Jew named Don Semuel Pesquer who is deceased, and that for all this time the witness had the duty of lighting the lamps given to the witness by Don Yuca Bienveniste, resident of Soria who is deceased, every Friday a pound and a half of oil was used to light the lamp and the other parties for each bushel of oil. Who saw the witness who told him many times that the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, a deceased resident of Soria, father and mother of the protonotary of Lucena, who gave him that oil to burn in the lamp, the same lamp that was placed in the synagogue by Don Simuel Pesquer, father of the mother of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, and that he knew that the lamp belonged to the mother of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, and gave her that oil to burn in it and was in charge of it. And this witness said that Don Yuca Bienveniste had no cause to light the lamp, because he gave in four parties four arrobas of oil a year, each party one arroba, and a pound and a half of oil every Friday. And after he

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died the mother of Juan Ramirez de Lucena saw the witness Don Yucá Bienveniste never see the lighting of the lamp, salute the aljama. And the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena gave another arroba of oil to burn on Mayor Day, so there were five celebrations each year.

45 (Page 36) Soria, July 26, 1490 Mother of the protonotary

This day appeared before inquisitors Rodrigo de la Torre, a resident of the Tower of Nualcauallo, land of Soria, and said that some fifteen years ago the witness demanded money from the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, resident of Soria, deceased, mother of the protonotary de Lucena, and this witness saw the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena praying facing a wall, as would a Jew, and that this witness had some feelings because this witness found her praying. And this witness said again that the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena who visited the witness's home had his inheritance, and he saw that she didn't eat bacon and her spoon didn't touch the pot of bacon.

53 (Page 38) August 1, 1490 Mother of the protonotary

Of this day appeared before the inquisitors Anton Garcia, a resident of Los Lllamosos land of Soria, and said that for twenty-eight or twenty-nine years the witness came to the house of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, a deceased resident of Soria, and walking in his house found no one to answer him, and exited his house through a corridor near the city; the witness saw there the wife of the protonotary de Lucena, deceased, mother of the protonotary de Lucena, alone, facing a wall, standing, raising and lowering her head, sabathing as a Jew, and that it appeared evil to this witness, and he said it was after this wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena became Christian more than eight years ago.

55 (Page 39) August 2, 1490 Mother of the protonotary

On this day appeared before the inquisitors Levi Matroniel, tailor, resident of the castle of Soria, and said that twenty years ago he saw that this witness did not remembers what day the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, deceased, resident of Soria, begged very affectionately and bought a ram from the Jewish butcher and gave it to him.

58 (Page 40) Frias, July 31, 1490 Mother of the protonotary

On this day appeared before the inquisitors Hayn, the son of Don Abraén Cubero, resident of the castle of Soria, and said that seven or eight years ago he and one of his brothers were at the house of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, a resident of Soria, and that the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, deceased, resident of Soria, mother of the protonotary de Lucena, was there and that some said that the Turk was coming and that his brother said to the witness:

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"No, except that the Messiah comes, which is the Messiah", and that this witness saw the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, mother of the protonotary say: "I beg God that I should see it, and then, if God wants, saints would fall from the sky and kill me."

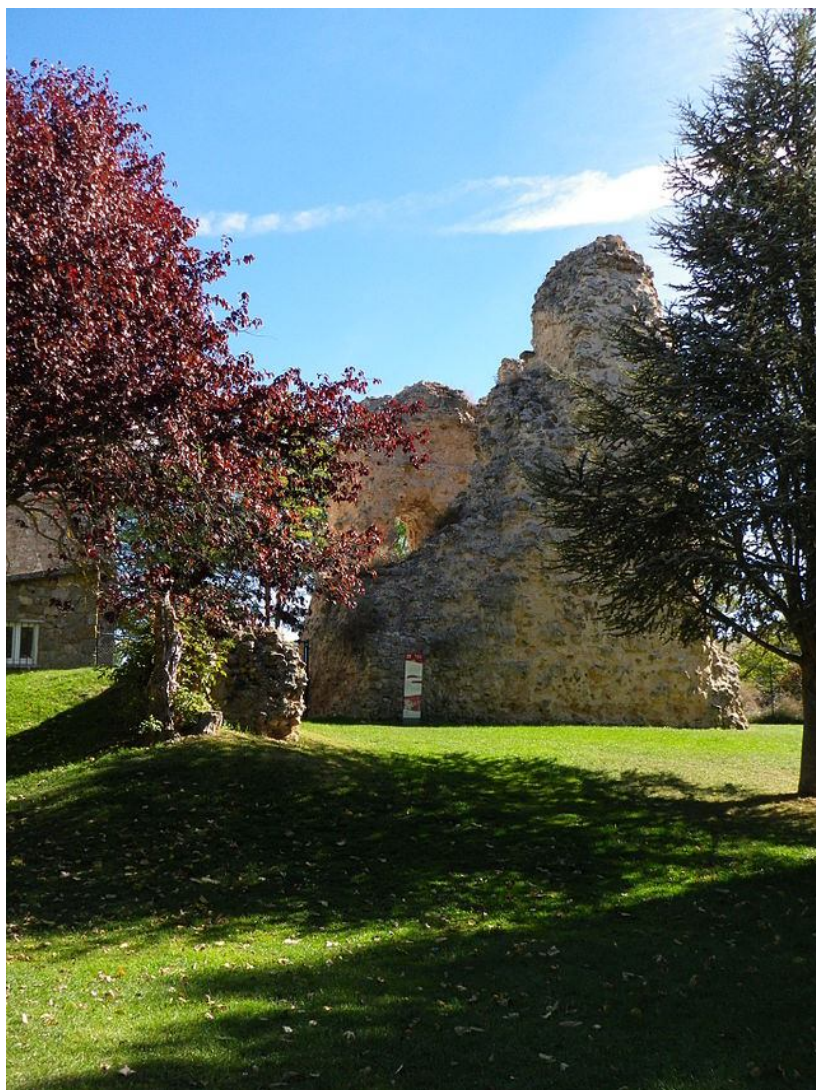
59 (Page 41) Frias, July 31, 1490 Mother of the protonotary

On this day appeared before the inquisitors Yensó Cubero, resident of the castle of Soria, and said that he had for eight or nine years been working in his trade and his other brother who was named Hayn, in the house of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, resident of Soria, deceased, said that his wife was there, that the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, deceased, resident of Soria, mother of the protonotary de Lucena, was there and that some said that the Turk was coming, and that his brother said to the witness: "No, except that the Messiah comes, which is the Messiah", and that this witness saw the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, mother of the protonotary say: "I beg God that I should see him, and then, if they God wants, saints would fall from the sky and kill me."

67 (Page 43) Frias, July 31, 1490 Mother of the protonotary

On this day appeared before the inquisitors Raby Yentó of Rabbi David, resident of Soria, sage of the mosque, and he said that more than twelve years ago he asked this witness don Ça Bienveniste, resident of Soria who is now dead, who lighted a lamp that was in the synagogue, that had been placed there by Don Simuel Pesquer, father of the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, mother of the protonotary, and that Don Ça Bienveniste said: "from there it lights up, by your people; ¿should you want to know who it is?." And that this was the eve of a major day the day Mayor, and the witness believes it was the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena by whom he said that lamp was lit.

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«Soria Castle Ruins, where Juan Ramírez de Lucena's family lived³²»

³² See Wikiseldon - Own work. Available under license CC BY-SA 3.0 through Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ruinas_del_Castillo_de_Soria.jpg#/media/File:Ruinas_del_Castillo_de_Soria.jpg

73 (Page 46) Soria, August 2, 1490 Mother of the protonotary

On this day appeared before the inquisitors Matheo Garnica, stonemason, a resident of Santa María de Navarnes, and said that he had for twenty years been walking with his master Miguel the stonemason, working with masonry in the home of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, the deceased resident of Soria, who saw one day, but does not remember what day it was, the wife of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, the deceased mother of the protonotary de Lucena, resident of Soria, pray facing a wall, sabbathing like a Jew, and it was morning, and she was standing on her feet.

92 (Pages 50-51) Soria, 30 July 1490 Mother of the protonotary

On this day appeared Juana Rodrigues, wife of Pero Fernandez de Concejo, neighbour of Renieblas, and said that it could be thirty-seven or thirty-eight years that this witness lived with the wife of Lope de Sant Climeynte, sister of the protonotary of Luçena, the deceased neighbor of Soria, many times her madam sent this witness to the house of Juan Ramirez de Luçena, and that this witness would hear that the wife of Juan Ramirez, whose name was Catalina Ramirez, did nothing at all on Saturdays; and this witness saw that on Saturdays Catalina Ramirez would wear the best dresses that she had; and that this witness saw it many times and that on other days she would walk around and do other chores around her house; and that furthermore this witness knows that Catalina Ramirez did not eat bacon, nor cook in any pot in which there had been bacon.

97 (Pages 52-53) Soria, 3 August 1490 Mother of the protonotary

This witness also said that living in Soria, being Butler of the synagogue of Don Yuçaf Byenveniste, in the castle of this city of Soria, that this witness on his way to the house of Doña Paloma, sister of the mother of the protonotary Luçena, for a Sefer Torah, he saw the mother of the protonotary with two sisters of hers, Jews, in the seven days that Doña Paloma had died; and that this witness saw that the mother of the protonotary and the other two Jews, her sisters, were unfolding certain jewelry and clothes of Doña Paloma, her sister, and that his witness demanded said Sefer Torah and that they gave it to him, and so he left them talking. And that his witness saw, going to the castle the mother of the protonotary, with two madams of her Christians.

99 (Pages 53-54) Soria, 8 August 1490 Mother of the protonotary

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Pascuala, wife of Juan de Ençiso, neighbour of Soria, said that further than what is said and established in this Holy Office of the mother of the protonotary of Luçena, now again she says that there could be nine or ten years that living this witness with the mother of the protonotary she saw that once or twice a Jew that they called Capón, the deceased neighbor of Soria, brought to the mother of the protonotary pies of dove or chicken, and that this witness saw how her madam ate them, and that his witness also ate them. And this witness further said that an Easter of the Rye Bread, which falls on Holy Week, the mother of the protonotary ate gruel instead of rye bread and that all Easter this witness did not see her eat any other type of bread, and that she thought that she ate the gruel in place of the rye bread. And that one time, in said time, ending the Easter of the Rye Bread, this witness brought to her madam two cakes of rye bread from the Jewish quarter from the castle, and from the house of one of the sisters of her madam, and that she saw her eat it. And that when this witness brought the cakes, a child of the mother of the protonotary called Alonso de Luçena who lived in Madrid had an argument with this witness because she had brought the cakes of rye bread from the Jewish quarters. And so too did he have an argument with the mother, saying: "In spite of being with you you dishonor us with these things that you do." And that so too she saw that on the same Easter of the Rye Bread that her daughter-in-law, wife of Alonso de Luçena, had sent her lentils with leavened bread, and that because they had leavened bread, she did not want to eat. And that furthermore this witness knows that the mother of the prothonotary did not eat bacon and that she ordered this witness and those in her house not to throw bacon into the pots that she used for cooking.

100 (Page 54) Soria, 8 August 1490 Mother of the protonotary

Doña Eluira de Barrionuevo, wife of Valdeuieso, neighbour of Soria, granddaughter of the mother of the protonotary, said more and further of what she had said and established against her grandmother in this Holy Inquisition, that there could be fifteen years in which she heard said from one of the servants of her grandmother, mother of the protonotary, a servant called María de Orduña, now deceased, in that he mother of the protonotary, grandmother of this witness from Medina, that she brought a sore eye from a beating that her husband Juan Ramíres de Luçena gave her, and that the servant had gone with Catalina Ramires, grandmother of this witness, to the quarters of the Jews upon the grave of her father, and that she took sand from the earth of the burial place and placed it on the sore eye, and that she took some of it to her house to further place it on her sore, and that from what she said to her servant that it was revealed that in this way she would be cured.

103 (Page 55) Soria, 13 August 1490 Mother of the protonotary

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Alonso de la Cuesta, neighbour of Soria to the Arrauval, he said that it could be thirty years that being the stepfather of this witness called Sancho de la Cuestra, with a sore in one eye, it was the mother of the protonotary of Luçena who went to see him, and she said: “Make an effort for it is nothing, for you know how much sore I had in my eye that I took from the earth where a good person was buried, and I placed it in water and then on the eye; and that she cured it, and that she took the earth from where her mother was buried, and after placing it in water she placed it on the eye, and it was cured. And he said that he knows that his mother of the mother of the protonotary a Jew died and was buried in the Jewish quarters.

108 (Page 57) 30 May 1492 Mother of the protonotary

Doña Vellida, the widow of Don Mosé Françés, neighbour of Fuentepenilla, said that this witness would for thirty years have been living in the city of Soria with her husband, who had a friendship with the woman of Juan Ramires de Luçena, the deceased mother of the protonotary, neighbor of Soria, who with her husband were Jews that turned Christians. And that after becoming Christian this witness went one morning to the house of the mother of the protonotary and that as this witness entered the house, she saw her getting out of bed and after dressing and washing she started praying a prayer in Hebrew standing towards the wall and gesturing while praying, as the Jews do, and that after praying she did not talk to this witness, and that this witness did not pray with her, because she did not know it as well as the person mentioned. And that to this day she does not remember it; to which she said that she had more of a Jew than of a Christian.

290 (Page 125-126) Soria, 16 February 1502 Mother of the protonotary

Diego de Sora, neighbour of the Cubo de Malashogureas, said that it could be twenty years that being in this city of Soria in the house of the mother of the protonotary of Lucena, that he doesn't know which name she had, and now deceased, talking with her about things he does not remember, saw and heard this witness how the aforementioned said: “For the century of my mother, who is in the truth and we in the lie”; and that in this way is that of which they talked. Of which mother of the aforementioned had died a Jew. And that he does not know more, nor does he say it in hate, etc.

399 (Page 166) 16 July 1501 Mother of the protonotary

Sancho de Mena, barber of Burgos, said that it could be fifteen years that he lived with the protonotary of Luçena, with whom he lived for twelve or thirteen years, and living with him in Soria he saw that he had in his house his mother Catalina Ramires, now deceased, whom he saw many times saying Jewish prayers in Hebrew, laying on her breast on railings, which saw Juancho, vicayne, and Pero de la Carraba e Martín, who is married in

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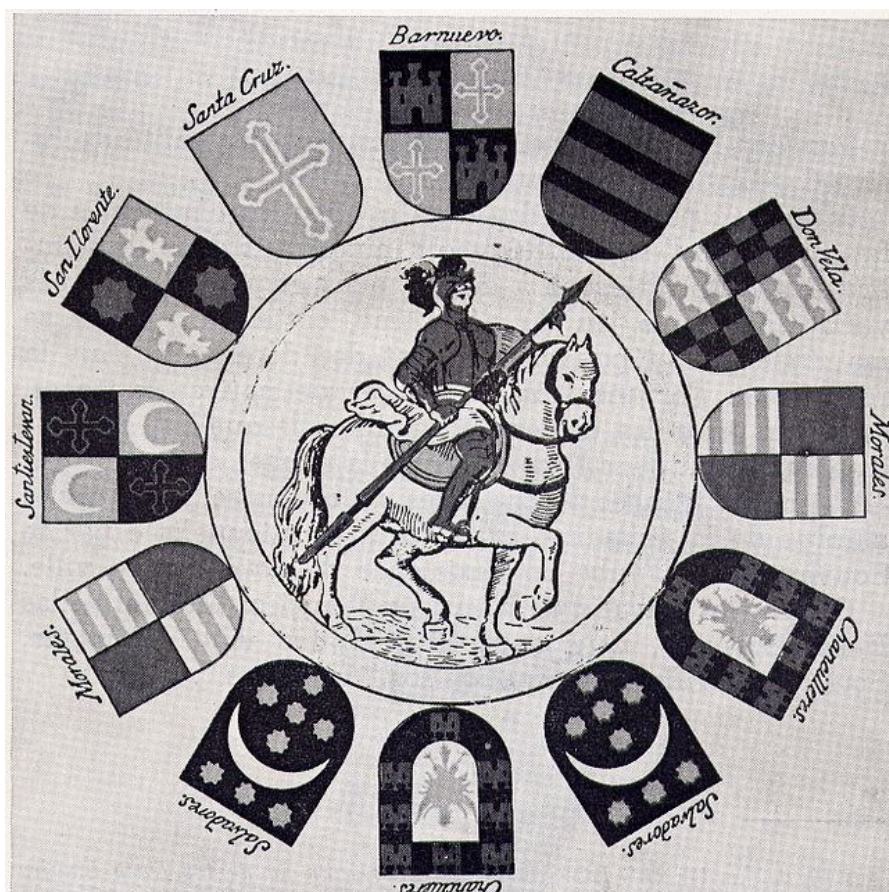
Madrid and is called Martín de Luzena, servants all of the protonotary. And all of them laughed. Asked if he had ever seen the Jews pray, he said yes and that in Hebrew the aforementioned was praying. It was read to her, etc.

The date when Catalina Ramirez, the mother of the protonotary, was declared heretic has not been determined, but was definitely after the year 1490 when the protonotary was removed from the Royal Counsel and the Holy Inquisition started to immediately investigate his and his family's activities. Catalina Ramirez's goods in Valladolid and the Bishopric of Osma were confiscated³³. Among them were important heritages and houses in Soria, such as: half of the few houses in San Clemente; half of heritage in Carbonera; half of a house called "Torre de Gormayo" with its mill and border, and finally half of heritage called Las Casillas and El Royal y Royalejo with its mills³⁴.

³³ AGS, Registro General del Sello, I-1510. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. (249-272), Citation in p. 252.

³⁴ AGS, Registro General del Sello, I-1510. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1992). Judíos y judeoconversos en Soria en el siglo XV. Volumen 43, Nº. 84, (pp. 225-253), p. 241 y 251.

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http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lignages_de_Soria

The protonotary, Juan Ramírez de Lucena

Our protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena, the son of Juan Ramírez de Lucena and Catalina Ramírez³⁵, was born around 1431, as in his will³⁶ made on September 10th of 1501 he stated before notary Sancho Morales that he was 70 years old³⁷.

Paz y Melia was the first author who stated based on a paragraph of the book of Francisco de Mosquera y Barnuevo that the author of *Diálogo de Vita Beata* was born in Soria and lived in the “Casas de los leones” in the suburb of San Clemente. Furthermore he was chronicler. We observed that in the *Numantia* from 1612 it has the 78th stanza praying this fact³⁸:

Celebrated to Ioan de Torres Filomena
The resounding thrown, and relegated
Captain of the guard of Ysabela
And General of Spears signaling:
Parthenope playing his vihuela
Of music to Saravia the brave

³⁵ Church of San Pedro of Soria, libro 31, fol. 186. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. (249-272), p. 251.

³⁶ **LLORENTE, JUAN ANTONIO** (1980). Anales de la Inquisición de España, I, Madrid, pp. 289-294. Cited by **LAPESA, RAFAEL** (1982). De la edad media a nuestros días, p. 136 y por **CALVO, RICARDO** (1997). Lucena. La evasión en ajedrez del converso Calisto, pp. 36-39.

³⁷ **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. 249-272, p. 254 y 257. El testamento se halla en el Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid, P.C. (Pleitos Civiles) - F.C. (Fenecidos – Caja) 352-1.

³⁸ **MOSQUERA DE BARNUEVO, Francisco** (1612). La Numantina / de el Licendo. Don Franco. Mosquera de Barnuevo... dirigida a la nobilissima ciudad de Soria y a sus doze linages y casas a ellos aggregadas, Edition of 2000 in Soria, p. 100 and 137r-v. Cited by **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012). De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, p. XXXII.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena

And to Don Juan de Lucena chronicler
With Rua, who of wise is listed

We could not find anywhere that Juan de Lucena was a chronicler, because even Stephen Gil who mentions Juan de Lucena as a royal chronicler doesn't give any reference³⁹. Due to the assertion of Francisco de Mosquera y Barnuevo who claimed that the place of Lucena's origin was Soria, we do not exclude that Lucena was in fact a chronicler⁴⁰. But logically we would need documents to prove it. We know today that Mosquera y Barnuevo was right about the origin of Lucena who was effectively from Soria. The *Numantina* remains important, because it was published again in Soria in 2000. It was work which we have consulted to see the words of Mosquera y Barnuevo who cites Paz y Melia:

Also in this lineage are incorporated the Ramírez and Lucenas, seen in Soria as principal persons, and very grave, as were Don Juan Ramírez de Lucena, man of many studies, doctored in both Laws, and Protonotary of the Holy Church of Rome, Abbad of Cobarrubias, and Chronicler of the Catholic Kings, who built houses called after the Lions of Soria, and of the successors of these of so little rent to sustain such great labour had come to much less in relation to what had been its beginnings⁴¹.

³⁹ **GILMAN, Stephen** (1978). *La España de Fernando de Rojas*. Taurus Ediciones, Madrid, p. 301. **LOPERRAEZ CORVALÁN, Juan** (1788). *Descripción histórica del Obispado de Osma: con tres disertaciones sobre los sitios de Numancia, Uxama, y Clunia / por Don Juan Loperraez Corvalán...* ; Volume II, Madrid, p. 242: "D. Juan Ramírez de Lucena, natural de Soria, de quien dice D. Francisco de Mosquera fue hombre de muchas letras, docto en ambos Derechos, Protonotario de la Santa Iglesia de Roma, Abad de Covarrubias, y cronista de los Reyes Catholicos."

⁴⁰ Our analysis showed that Juan Ramírez de Lucena could have been the Chronicler of the *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos*. However, many authors believe the *Crónica* had been written by Juan de Flores. For complete references of Juan de Flores, please consult the work of **CARRASCO MANCHADO, Ana Isabel** (2006). *Isabel I de Castilla y la sombra de la ilegalidad: propaganda y representación en el conflicto sucesorio (1474-1482)*, p. 352, nota 268.

⁴¹ **MOSQUERA DE BARNUEVO, Francisco** (1612). *La Numantina / de el Licendo. Don Franco. Mosquera de Barnuevo... dirigida a la nobilissima ciudad de*

In the 1786 manuscript of the National Library of Madrid, which contains a version of the Chronicle of the Catholic Kings of Hernando Pulgar [see Folio 3 with lettering of the XVII century] there is reference to a relationship of twelve chroniclers of the Catholic Kings, including Antonio de Lebrija, Hernando de Pulgar, and Alonso de Palencia⁴².

Medina has speculated that Juan de Lucena already appeared in 1444-1445 as secretary of Alfonso V in Naples, implying then that at that time he was only about 15 years old. However, this information is not correct⁴³, because that time the young Lucena was studying in the Cathedral of Burgo de Osama. There is also a letter of Lorenzo Valla responding to criticism of Antonio de Rho of his *De vero bono*, which ended up in Naples about 1444-1445 and was entitled “In errores Antoniis Raudensis adnotationes, *ad Ioan. Lucinam Alfonsi Regis Secretarium*”. Moreover, Calixto III was also a private secretary of Alfonso V. Medina says it is very likely that after his election as pope Calixto could have had the unconditional aid of the familiar young person of Lucena. Lucena had as old friend Lorenzo

Soria y a sus doze linages y casas a ellos agregadas, Edition of 2000 in Soria, p. 137.

⁴² **PARRILLA GARCÍA, Carmen** (1989). Un cronista olvidado: Juan de Flores, autor de la *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos*. In: The age of the Catholic Monarchs. 1474-1516. Literary studies in memory of Keith Whinnom. Edited by Alan Deyermond & Ian McPerson Liverpool university press, pp. 123-133. Citation in p. 124.

⁴³ **CAPPELLI, Guido M.** (2002). El humanismo romance de Juan de Lucena, Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, Madrid, p. 33, n. 15.

DI CAMILLO, Ottavio (2008). Juan de Lucena rewriting of Bartolomeo Fazio's *De vitae felicitate*: on the many uses of humanist ethical theories. In: Letras humanas y conflictos de saber: la filología como instrumento a través de las edades, eds. A. Vian y C. Baranda, Instituto Universitario Menéndez Pidal. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Editorial Complutense, Madrid, pp. 35-57. Citation on pp. 41-42. Cited by **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2014). Juan de Lucena. Diálogo sobre la vida feliz. Espístola exhortatoria a las letras. Real Academia Española, Madrid, p. 14, n. 19.

Valla (1406-1457) and it is possible that in some way or another, his friend could have influenced him to serve Pope Callixto⁴⁴.

The *Diálogo de Vita Beata* by Juan Ramírez⁴⁵ de Lucena is based according to many authors on the work of the Italian Bartolomeo Fazio called *Dialogus de Felicitate Vitae*. This work was written around 1443-1447 and dedicated to Alfonso V of Aragón⁴⁶. Thus according to some authors this was at the time when Juan de Lucena presumably was in Naples as secretary at the service of Alfonso V.

⁴⁴ **MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO** (1998). El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II). Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, pp. 135-170, citation in p. 157.

It is very difficult to accept that he was a friend of Valla. See again: **CAPPELLI, Guido M.** (2002). El humanismo romance de Juan de Lucena, Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, Madrid.

MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO (1997). El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (I). Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, pp. 251-269, citation in p. 258-261.

⁴⁵ **RAMIREZ DE LUCENA, Juan** (1483) Vita Beata, Zamora: Antón de Centenera.

RAMIREZ DE LUCENA, Juan (1499) Vita Beata, Burgos: Juan de Burgos.

RAMIREZ DE LUCENA, Juan (1502) Vita Beata, Burgos: Juan de Burgos.

⁴⁶ **CONDE LOPEZ, Juan Carlos** (1985). El siglo XV Castellano a la luz del Diálogo de Vita beata de Juan de Lucena. In: Dicenda, IV, (11-34), p. 13.

ALCALA, ANGEL (1968). Juan de Lucena y el Pre-erasmismo español. Revista Hispánica Moderna. Revista Hispánica Moderna. (108 – 131), p. 109. Dice Alcalá que la única edición hoy asequible parece ser aún *Bartholomei Facii de vitae felicitate seu summi boni fruitione liber*. Lugduni Batavorum, 1628. En microfilm en Columbia University.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena



**Coat of arms of King Alfonso V of Aragon the Magnanimous as Knight
of the Order of the Golden Fleece,
http://annebhd.free.fr/heraldique/ETO/Aragon_Alphonse-V-d1445.jpg**

Medina, among others, based his work on a text by Alcalá⁴⁷ which stated the following:

We know that when Juan II died on July 22nd of 1454, his son Enrique IV hurried to send Iñigo López de Mendoza to Rome as his ambassador, second son of the Marquis, to greet Pope Nicolas V. This must have been before March 24th of 1455 when the Pope died. We also know that Iñigo himself was later in Naples, was sent again as ambassador before Pío II, and elected Pope after the death of the Spaniard Calixto III in August 1458. On the other hand, Calixto III had sent Eneas Silvio Piccolomini to Naples as his ambassador before Alfonso V to convince him to join the projected league against the Turks. That embassy, described in shiny terms by

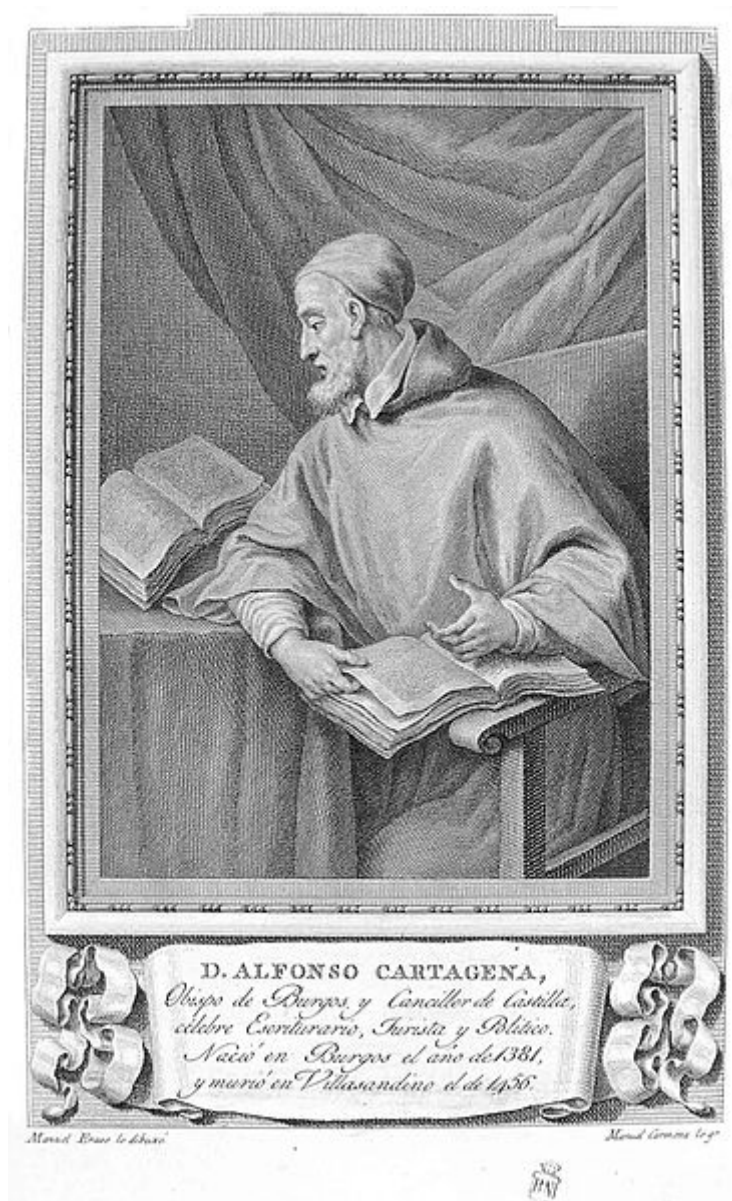
⁴⁷ **ALCALA, ANGEL** (1968). Juan de Lucena y el Pre-erasmismo español. *Revista Hispánica Moderna*. *Revista Hispánica Moderna*. (108 – 131), citation in pp. 114 y 115.

various historians of the Italian humanism and of the ecclesiastic matters, went on for several months from 1455 to 1456. Upon his return to Rome Piccolomini was made Cardinal on December 18th of 1456. In view of all this data one cannot but imagine the situation: Juan de Lucena, son of the doctor of the Marquis, (son of his godson), accompanied the second son in his embassy to Naples, a progressive court where he met Eneas Silvio and Alfonso V. Even more so, according to another possible conjecture, he was recommended to both by his bishop don Alonso de Cartagena of Burgos, the man who, according to Menéndez y Pelayo “appeared at the front of the classic Renaissance and would only swear by Cicerón and Séneca” and who in Basilea, where he had gone as delegate of Juan II, “came to have a familiar treatment with E.S. Piccolomini” even as mere secretary of Cardinal Capranica who (like Alonso de Cartagena) was a simple archdeacon of Segovia. It was while he was in Naples where without a doubt he had news of the dialogue of Facio, which he would ‘plagiarize’ eight years later and where he personally treated not only Facio and Valla, two men in continuous discord and both deceased in 1457, but also the protagonists of Facio’s dialogue: Guarino de Verona, Antonio Beccadelli “the Panormite”, an old friend of Eneas Silvio and Juan Lamola.

Nevertheless Cappelli⁴⁸, unbeknownst to the chesslike activity of Juan Ramírez de Lucena with all the Italian humanists, says:

⁴⁸ **CAPPELLI, Guido M.** (2002). El humanismo romance de Juan de Lucena, p. 32.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
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Alonso de Cartagena (Imprenta Real, 1791)

He summarizes and shares Medina who came to suppose that Lucena had contacts with the humanists that surrounded Alfonso in his court in Naples (Bartolomeo Facio, Lorenzo Valla, Guarino de Verona, Juan Lamola and others). The error can be pardoned if we take into account that it is based on the article of Alcalá that supposes that during the visit to Naples Lucena coincided with Piccolomini, by that time a cardinal and head of the embassy before Alfonso V, and also personally treated Facio and Valla... ” and the protagonists of the dialogue of Facio: Guarino de Verona, Antonio Beccadelli... Juan Lamola”. That said, the seriousness in the evaluation of the data imposes that in 1455 Valla had already abandoned the Aragonese capital for seven years, and that there is also no trace of Guarino in Naples in this period. And the Bolognese Giovanni Lamola, a minor gramatician ho studied with Guarino, he had already been deceased in 1449.

According to the author Luciano Serrano the Lucena family lived in Burgos during the time of Alonso de Cartagena (1385–1456)⁴⁹. If this was so, the protonotary Juan de Lucena would have personally known this converse bishop and many things would be clarified. This humanist spent much time outside of Spain and it was thanks to these trips that he made friends with Eneas Silvio Piccolomini in Basilea, the man who would a few years later become pope Pio II. As our protonotary was familiar with the pope, it is safe to suppose that the bishop Alonso de Cartagena had introduced Juan de Lucena to the papal court. As pope Pio II had much appreciation for Alonso de Cartagena, the doors to the papal palace were opened in Rome to our protonotary. Alonso de Cartagena had in his palace of Burgos an impressive library with great many foreign books and it is safe to suppose that the protontoary knew of all these books.

The presence of Lucena in Rome is reflected in his work *Epístola Exhortatoria*⁵⁰ and the documents describe him as a member of the

⁴⁹ **SERRANO, R.P. LUCIANO** (1942). Los Conversos. D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena. Obispos de Burgos, gobernantes, diplomáticos y escritores, pp. 258 – 260.

⁵⁰ **LUCENA, JUAN DE** (1892). Epístola Exhortatoria a las letras (en A. Paz y Meliá (editor): Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIX a XVI (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1892), p. 215. Cited by **MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO** (1998). El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II). Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16,

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PINTURICCHIO Aeneas Piccolomini Leaves for the Council of Basle
Fresco Piccolomini Library, Duomo, Siena. August 1502 (Wikipedia)

pp. 135-170, p. 158. **RICO, Francisco** (1978, *Nebrija frente a los bárbaros*, p. 38) also refers to p. 215 de Paz y Meliá quoting: «yo fui a Roma grandevo»,

entourage of the powerful cardinal Próspero Colonna⁵¹, cousin of Pope Marín (1417-1431). Some of the Papal bulls can clarify the whereabouts of our character. In bull number 1173 Juan de Lucena is called "dilecto filio" when in 1458 Pope Pío II confers to Juan de Lucena a canonicate that has remained vacant in Seville after the death of Gonzalo Sánchez de Córdoba⁵².

1173

It is conferred to Juan de Lucena motu proprio, bachelor in decrees, the canon and seat that had vacated in Seville due to the death of Gonzalo Sánchez de Córdoba – Rome, 1 November 1458.

Motu proprio etc. dil. Filio Joanni de Lucena, in decretis baccalario, cler. Oxomen. dio., specialem gratiam facientes, de canonicatu cum praeb. eccl. Hispalen, per obitum quondam Gundisalvi Sancii de Corduba, familiaris olim fe. re. Eugenii papae IV praed. nostri et ipsius abbreviatoris, ipsorum ultimi possessoris, in Hispania defuncti vacan., cujus fructus etc. centum librar. Tur. parv. val. annum non excedunt, eidem Joanni providemus et provideri mandamus.

Fiat motu proprio. E.

Dat. Romae apud sanctum Petrum kalend, novembris anno

In bull 1195, dated May 1461, Lucena is called "Pius dilecto, filio Joanni de Lucena" and "familiari nostro". The pope wishes to reward the merits of Lucena, transferring certain expectations to the diocese of Seville that had been conceded for the diocese of Burgos⁵³.

⁵¹ **CAPPELLI, Guido M.** (2002). El humanismo romance de Juan de Lucena, p. 28.

⁵² **BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, VICENTE** (1967). Bulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1219 – 1549), 3 vols. Bula 1173, p. 93. Cited by **MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO** (1998). El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II). Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, pp. 135-170, pp. 153 y 160.

⁵³ **BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, VICENTE** (1967). Bulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1219 – 1549), 3 vols. Bula 1195, pp. 110 y 111. Cited by **MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO** (1998). El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II). Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, pp. 135-170, pp. 153 y 160.

1195

Transference to the dioceses of Seville of expectations conceded to Juan de Lucena, graduated in decrees to the dioceses of Burgos – Rome, 9 May 1461.

Pius dil. filio Joanni de Lucena, canonico Hispalen., licentiato in decretis, familiari nostro, salutem. Grata familiaritatis obsequia quae nobis hactenus impendisti et adhuc sollicitis studiis impendere non desistis, necnon litterarum scientia, vitae ac morum honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita quibus personam tuam tam familiari experientia quam etiam fidedignorum testimoniis juvare perceptimus, nos inducunt ut tibi reddamur ad gratiam liberales.

Dudum siquidem, videlicet sub octavo kalendas decembris pontificatus nostri anno primo, tibi tunc baccalario in decretis, ac dil. filii nostri Prosperi, sancti Georgii ad Velum aureum diaconi card. familiari continuo commensali, de canonicatu eccl. Burgen. cum reservatione praeb. cc dignitatis, personatus, administrationis vel officii necnon praestimoniorum, praestimon. portionum et simplicium beneficiorum in civitate et dio. Burgen. consistentium unius cedentis vel decedentis ipsius eccl. canonicus ad collationem, provisionem, praesentationem, electionem seu quamvis aliam dispositionem venerabilis fratris nostri archiepiscopi Toletan. Et decani et capituli etc. Toletan. communiter vel divisim pertinentium vacantium tunc vel vacaturarum, per alias litteras motu proprio gratiose duximus providendum.

Cum autem, sicut acceptimus, tu ex gratia et litteris huiusmodi nullum hactenus commodum reportaveris nec etiam praesertim quoad ecclesiam et dio. Burgen. praedictam consequi speres in futurum, nos tibi, qui ad praesens noster continuus commensalis existis, praemissorum obsequiorum et meritorum tuorum intuitu ac propter quamplura grata per te nobis impensa servitia, specialem gratiam facere volentes, dictasque litteras et graiam necnon processus habitos per easdem quoad ecclesiam et civitatem ad dio. Burgen. Huiusmodi id te volente et in hoc expresse consentiende cassantes a pro nullis et infectis habentes necnon ipsas litteras ad eccle. et civ. et dio. Hispalen. commutantes, motu simili canonicatum eccl. Hispalen, cum plenitudine juris canonici apostolica tibi auctoritate conferimus et de illo etiam providemos. praebendam vero ac dignitatem, personatum, administrationem vel officium ejusdem eccl. Hispalen., necnon praestimonia, quorum quidem praestimoniorum fructus sexaginta librarum Tur. parve. valor. annum non exedeant, si vacant ad praesenes, aut cum vacaverint, quae tu per te vel procuratorem tuum ad hoc legitime constitutum infra unius mensis spatium postquam tibi vel eidem procuratori vicario illorum innotuerit, duxeris acceptanda conferenda tibi post acceptationem huiusmodi cum omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis

donationi apostoliacae reservamus, districtius inhibentes venerabili fratri nostro archiepiscopo Hispalen. et capitulo ac illi vel illis ad quem vel ad quos in dicta eccl. Hispalen. praebendarum ac dignitatum, personatum, administrationum vel officiorum necnon in div. vel dio. Hispalen. praedictis praestimoniorum hujusmodi collatio provisio, praesentatio, electio seu quaevis alia dispositio pertinet, ne de praebenda ac dignitate in eccl. Hispalen., necnon praestimoniis hujusmodi in civitate vel dio. Hispalen. interim etiam ante acceptationem eandem, nisi postquam eis constiterit quoad tu vel procurator praedictus illa nolueritis acceptare, disponere quaomodolibet praesumant.

Datum Romae anno 1461 septimo idus maji anno tertio.

Reg. Vat. 505, fol. 392-395.

Di Camillo comments with regards to this second bull that Juan de Lucena was "familiari continuo commensali" of cardinal Prospero Colonna (1426-1463) in 1458. On the other hand Lucena was bachelor in 1458 and graduate in 1461. Di Camillo had studied for these three years in Rome⁵⁴. Medina also says that from this document we learn that Lucena was still "bachelor" and had been a "familiar and continuous guest" of Cardinal Próspero Colonna (1410-1463), titular of the church of San Jorge in Velabro⁵⁵. In bull 1201 dated November 3rd 1461 he is called "Dilecto filio Joanni de Lucena..., vero familiari nostro continuo commensali..." and the Pope extends the privilege of *familiarity* for a year, forcing Lucena to remain by his side in Rome for one more year⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ **DI CAMILLO, Ottavio** (1976). El humanismo castellano del siglo XV, New York, p. 247.

⁵⁵ **MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO** (1998). El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II). Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, pp. 135-170, citation in p. 160.

⁵⁶ **BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, VICENTE** (1967). Bulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1219 – 1549), 3 vols. Bula 1201, p. 117. Cited by **MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO** (1998). El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II). Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, pp. 135-170, pp. 153 y 161.

1201

It is conceded to Juan de Lucena, graduated in decrees, that the familiar condition of the pontifice after it had ended be prolonged for one more year – Rome, 3 November 1461.

Dil. filio Joanni de Lucena, in decretis licentiatu, clerico Oxamen, dio., alias vero familiari nostri nostro continuo commensali, motu proprio ex certa nostra scientia gratiam expectativam ad collationem Toletan. et Hispalen. certis executoribus deputatis et in certo libro et rotulo concellariae apost. ubi nonnulli nostri familiares describuntur describi illum concessisse meminimus. Et ne dictus Joannes, eo quod justis ex causis bonam licentiam sibi dedimus, a familiaritate nostra discedens, in assecutione beneficiorum sub hujusmodi gratia comprehensorum molestari contingat, motu et scientia similibus declaramus nostrae intentionis fore ut in assecutione beneficiorum hujusmodi absque ulla differentia eisdem praerogativis gaudeat idem Jo. Et potiatur quibus nostro servitio manens gauderet et potiretur, quibusvis contrariis non obstan.

Fiat ut petitur ad annum. E. quod sola praesentis signatura absque aliarum apostolicarum litterarum confectione sufficiat. Fiat. E.

Dat. Romae apud Sanctum Petrum tertio nonas novembris anno quarto.

Reg. Suppl. 545, fol. 277v.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena

Brief pedigree of the Colonna family

Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna 6 Children, between them		
1. Próspero Colonna (1426-1463) Protector in Rome of Juan Ramírez de Lucena (1430-1507?) Prothonotary	2. Antonio Colonna Antonella Cantelmi 2º marriage - 7 children: 1. Próspero Colonna († 1523) 2. Giovanni Colonna (1457-1508) Illegitimate child: 3. Girolamo Colonna Vittoria Conti Marriage 6 children, between them: Pompeo Colonna (1479-1532) Cardinal - Friend of Vitoria Colonna, Daughter of Fabricio	3. Odoardo Colonna Filippa Conti Marriage 7 children 2 marriages Fabricio Colonna (1460-1520) Helped, in 1512, escape Alonso del Este (Duke of Ferrara), who was the protector of Francesh Vicent Married in 1488 with: Agnesina Montefeltro 5 children: Vitoria Colonna (1490-1547) Fernando de Ávalos, Marqies of Pescara Marriage in 1509 Ascanio Colonna

Perhaps due to this on November 28th of 1461 Lucena through that bull 1202 conceded the benefit that had been conceded to him in Écija⁵⁷ to a certain Diego Sánchez before public notary in Rome.

1202

It is conferred to Diego Sánchez the benefit resigned by Juan de Lucena in Ecija. – Rome, 28 November 1461.

Beatissime pater: Alias perpetuo beneficio simplici et servitorio in eccl. Sancti Jacobi de Astigia, Hispalen. dio., tunc vacante, dev. vester Joannes de Lucena, cler. Oxamen. dio., in decretis licentiat, tunc s. v. familiaris continuus commensalis, illud benef. sic vacan. vigore gratiae expectativae sibi concessae infra tempus debitum acceptavit et de illo sibi obtinuit provideri. Cum autem, pater s., ipse Joannes possessione dicti benef. Per eum non habita, benef. ipsum et omne jus sibi in ac vel ad illud quomodolibet competens coram notario publico et textibus in Roman. Curia sponte et libere resignaverit et cesserit: supplicat igitur s. v. Didacus Sancii, cler. Hispalen., quatenus resignationem hujusmodi admittere et de dicto benef., cujus fructus etc. 70 librar. val. an. non exc., eidem Didaco providere.

Dat. Romae quarto kalendas decembris anno quarto.

Reg. Suppl. 547, fol. 83.

As Luciano Serrano lets us know, the Lucena family resided in the city of Burgos. Our Juan Ramírez de Lucena, who was familiar to the Pope, belonged to this family. On March 9 1462 Pio II signed in brief mandating the cathedral collegiate of Burgos to turn up with the fruits of their canonry to “Johanni de Lucena, licenciato in decretis, familiari nostro, continuo commensali”. The text is as follows⁵⁸:

Brief Pontifice sent to the Cathedral of Burgos makes himself present with the fruits of his canon to Juan de Lucena who is at the service of

⁵⁷ **BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, VICENTE** (1967). Bulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1219 – 1549), 3 vols. Bula 1202, p. 117. Cited by **MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO** (1998). El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II). Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, pp. 135-170, p. 161.

⁵⁸ **SERRANO, R.P. LUCIANO** (1942). Los Conversos. D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena. Obispos de Burgos, gobernantes, diplomáticos y escritores, p. 260 y 313. (Appendix XX).

the Pope and is his representative – Rome, 9 March 1462 (Reg. 8, fol. 502, original, vitela).

Pius Papa II – Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Contulimus iam pridem dilecto filio Johanni de Lucena, licentiatum in decretis, familiari nostro, continuo commensali, canonicatum ecclesie vestre tunc vacantem, prout in literis apostolicis desuper confectis latius continetur. Verum quia ipse Johannes in nostris servitiis continue assistens, non postest impresentiarum personaliter dicto canonicatui deservire et in dicta ecclesia moram ducere; eapropter hortamur in Domino devotionem vestram, vobisque nihilominus in virtute sancte obedientie precipiendo mandamus, quatinus eidem Johanni vel procuratori suo de omnibus et singulis fructibus, proventibus et obventionibus dicti canonicatus, in studio residentibus dari consuetis, quousque ipse Johannes in nostris servitiis permanserit, integre et cum effectu respondeatis et responderi faciatis, omni contradictione postposita, quod quamvis honestum et iustum sit cedit tamen nobis ad complacentiam, quia dictum Johannem propter eius virtutes et grata servitia, que nobis impendit, paterna caritate prosequimur. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die IV Martii M^oCCCC^oLXI (sic) Pontificatus nostri anno quarto – G. de Piccolomini. Dilectis filiis Decano et Capitulo Ecclesie Burgensis.

On the other hand, in bull 1205 dated October 6 1463 Lucena is called "dilecto filio Joanni de Lucena... familiari nostro..." and the canonicate is passed to him in sinecure, which has remained vacant in Salamanca after the death of Juan Rodríguez de Toro⁵⁹.

1205

Pío II confers motu proprio to his familiar Juan de Lucena, graduated in decrees, the canonicate and sinecure that were vacated in Salamanca due to the death of Juan Rodríguez de Toro – Rome, 6 October 1463.

Pius etc. dil. filio Joanni de Lucena canonico Salamantin. Licentiatum in decretis familiari nostro salutem et apost. bened. Grata familiaritatis obsequia quae nobis hactenus impendisti et adhuc sollicitis studiis empendere condesistis, necnon litterarum scientia, vitae ac morum

⁵⁹ **BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, VICENTE** (1967). Bulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1219 – 1549), 3 vols. Bula 1205, p. 120. Cited by **MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO** (1998). El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II). Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, pp. 135-170, p. 153.

honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita quibus personam tuam tam familiari experientia quam etiam fidedignorum testimoniis juvari perceptimus nos inducunt ut tibi reddamur ad gratiam liberales.

Dudum siquidem omnes canonicatus et praeb. quorumcumque abbreviatorum nostrorum tunc vacantia et inantea vacatura collationi et dispositioni nostrae reservavimus. Cum itaque postmodum canon. et praeb. eccl. Salamantin. quos quondam Joannes Roderici de Tauro, ipsius eccl. canonicus et abbreviator litterarum apostol. dum viveret obtinebat, per obitum ejusdem Joannis, qui extra Roman. curiam diem clausit extremum, vacaverint, nos volentes tibi gratiam facere specialem, motu proprio canon. et praeb. Praedictos, quorum fructus... centum librar. Tur. parv. val. an. non excedunt, apostolica tibi auctoritate conferimus et de illis etiam providemus.

Dat. Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno 1463, pridie nonas octobris anno sexto.

Reg. Vat. 493, fol. 76-77

Juan de Lucena, whose pessimistic inspiration overflows in the pages of his *Vita Beata*⁶⁰ (1463), includes a number of subjective thoughts. A dialogue appears between distinguished characters that study the eternal problem of happiness on earth. Lucena closes the dark end of his thoughts claiming: "We have made living so reprobate that not without reason the vulgar language curses it." In this production pulsates a democratic sense and he defends himself from the converse persecuted.

As we have seen, there have been different bulls between the years 1458 and 1463 related to Juan de Lucena whose purpose in the papal court was of "commensali y familiari". The last bull was made in 1463 and this is precisely the date of the second and last version of the manuscript that has come to us, the 6728 of the

⁶⁰ There were in the XV-century signs of a significant increase in the reception of works by classical authors and Italian humanists. Translations of these works into Spanish, together with adaptations such as Juan de Lucena's *Diálogo de vita beata* (Dialogue on the happiness of life; 1463), a reworking of Bartolomeo Facio's (1400-1457) treatise *De vitae felicitate* (On the happiness of life), give Spanish humanism a character of its own.

Public Library, with an inscription dedicated to King Enrique IV, because surely Lucena wanted to return to Spain and pretended a prominent post in the court. The father of Juan de Lucena was at the service of King Enrique IV beside other prominent servers of the king who could lend a hand to our protonotary. Those servers were Gonzalo Gil de Miranda, the regent Fernando de Barrio Nuevo, and the mayor Juan de Barrio Nuevo, all prominent neighbours of Soria⁶¹. Probably Lucena wrote *De Vita Beata* in Rome about 1463. Alfonso Ortiz defended Archbishop Alfonso Carrillo of Toledo against Lucena's accusations of alchemy and squandering in his *Liber Dialogorum*. El diálogo se conserva en la catedral del Burgo de Osma (*Liber Dialogorum Alfonsi Ortiz, Ms. 113*) y podría haber sido escrito como refutación a los ataques de Lucena al Archbishop Alfonso Carillo⁶².

We have no data of him between 1464 and 1470⁶³, but I believe that during that period he was at least for some time in Zaragoza. In 1470 when we find him with the title of doctor, as we have seen before, he was named for the Counsel of Fernando the Catholic. He probably prepared during this period to obtain the title of doctor at any university. It is supposed that he returned to Spain when Pope Pío II died in August 1464. The new Pope, Pablo II, was not a defender of the humanists and his ancient protector cardinal Colonna had also deceased⁶⁴ on March 24 of the previous year. Seeing his wealthy father and the good relationship that he had with the kings Juan II and Enrique IV we cannot discard the fact that even his father would encourage the protonotary to continue studying for a future place in the court. In this case it is

⁶¹ **DIAGO HERNANDO, Máximo** (1993). Estructuras de poder en Soria a fines de la Edad Media., Valladolid, p. 86.

⁶² **MORENO HERNÁNDEZ, Carlos** (2009). En torno a Castilla, p. 95.

⁶³ **GARCÍA VALDECASAS, José Guillermo** (2002). La adulteración de La Celestina. Editorial Castalia, p. 296.

⁶⁴ **CAPPELLI, Guido M.** (2002). El humanismo romance de Juan de Lucena, p. 29.

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probable that the protonotary could have studied at the University of Salamanca.



Enrique IV of Castile (Engraving of the National Library – Madrid)

Juan Ramírez de Lucena was at the age of 28 years bachelor in decree. It is possible that he hastened to complete his superior studies in fear of possible displacements in the curia, seeing as that in 1461 he had already graduated in decrees.

According to Jerónimo Miguel Briongos Juan de Lucena could have been part of it in 1468 as ambassador of the members of the prince's court and the brilliant new king of Sicily Fernando de Aragón⁶⁵:

It started forming, bit by bit, from 1462 until 1479 in that he substitutes his father as king of Aragón. In 1466, when he reached fourteen years of age - the majority age, he let himself in for everyone to attend to his service by personalities from Catalan to Aragonese, Valencian, and Sicilian. However, it was in 1468 by giving his father the real Sicilian crown on 10 June when Fernando personally attended the provision of the new charges for his court⁶⁶. Then in Miguel Briongos' opinion it had to be when Juan de Lucena entered his service, since as the heir prince and king of Sicily he had to provide for all of his embassies and their corresponding legacies. How could it get all this way? Without any doubt the prestige that Lucena had been gained in Rome through diplomatic ways and his knowledge of ciphered languages and the title of apostolic protonotary, with which he came back to the bay, had to endorse him⁶⁷.

Another important fact is that two people of high importance in Fernando's court had been in Italy and knew Lucena's qualities without a doubt. Firstly Pedro de Santangel, Prince prosecutor in the Vatican since 1461, was named counselor of Fernando on 21 March 1466⁶⁸. Secondly, renowned for his humanist labor and for the services given to the crown of Aragon the bishop of Girona and then the cardinal Joan Margarit I Pau had assisted Mantua as ambassador of the Aragonese monarch, and in 1461 he was named by Pio II papal nuncio for the Aragonese crown. In political matters and matters of the state he was always by the king's and his son Fernando's

⁶⁵ **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012). *De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I*, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, pp. L-LI.

⁶⁶ **VICENS VIVES, J.** (1962). *Historia crítica de la vida y reinado de Fernando II de Aragón*, Zaragoza, Institución «Fernando el Católico», CSIC, pp. 517-518.

VICENS VIVES, J. (1952). *Fernando el Católico. Príncipe de Aragón, rey de Sicilia, 1458-1478*, Madrid, CSIC, p. 14.

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SEVILLANO COLOM, F. (1955). *La cancellería de Fernando el Católico», Actas del V Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, I*, Zaragoza, Institución «Fernando el Católico», CSIC., p. 234

⁶⁸ **VICENS VIVES, J.** (1962). *Historia crítica de la vida y reinado de Fernando II de Aragón*, Zaragoza, Institución «Fernando el Católico», CSIC, p. 519

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side and he was a very appreciated and considerate person by and to both. In 1479 he became counselor to the new king Fernando II. Not only in Mantua, but also in Rome, above all, he must have treated Juan de Lucena, whereby it is not difficult to suspect that either Santangel or the cardinal Margarit could have counseled Fernando and his father about the convenience of the services of the protonotary. A document that clarifies the date that I propose is an albala signed by the same prince in Valladolid on 2 January 1470 in which Fernando names him member of his council.



Meeting between Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile in 1469
Painting of José Cuchy Arnau

When his cousin infant Alfonso de Castilla (1468) died, and Isabella the second cousin and half-sister of Enrique IV of Castilla had been recognized by the majority of the nobility as heir of Castile, Juan II of Aragon, put his efforts in finding the marriage of Ferdinand to the Castilian princess.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena



Juan II of Aragon (Wikipedia)

Juan Ramírez de Lucena could have had a certain role in the marriage of Isabella I of Castile with Ferdinand II of Aragon. It is clear that Dr. Juan Ramírez de Lucena knew Ferdinand II of Aragon very well and was working in his courts, and on the other hand the father of the protonotary had worked for the court of Juan I of Castile.

At the time of being named for the Counsel of Prince Ferdinand on January 2 1470, assigning him the annual payment of 30.000 mrs., we find him to be a doctor. It is curious to contrast that the Catholic Kings named him “our chaplain and server”⁶⁹:

Del Consejo. El dottor Iohan Ramires de Luçena.

(Mercedes y Privilegios, legajo 98).

Mostro vna carta del prinçipe nuestro señor firmada de su nonbre fecho en esta guisa:

Este es trespado de vn aluala de nuestro señor el prinçipe escrita en papel et / firmada de su nonbre fecho en esta guisa: yo el prinçipe de Castilla et / de Leon e de Aragon rrey de Çiçilia acatando la çiençia e discreçion / e buena conciencia de vos el doctor Iohan Ramires de Luçena e los / muchos buenos e leales seruizijs que me avedes fecho e fasedes / de cada dia tengo por bien e es mi merçed que agora e de aqui adelante / para en toda vuestra vida seades vno de los del mi Consejo e podades / estar e residir en el e oyr e conosçer de todos los negocios e ca- / vsas que al dicho mi Consejo vinieren en qualquier manera e librar et / libredes todas las cartas e alualaes que por del dicho mi Consejo se / devieren librar e tenades e gosedes de todas las prerrogatiuas et / preminençias e honrras e inmunidades e exençiones e franquesas / de que gosan e deuen gosar (entre lineas: e por esta mi aluala mando a) los otros del mi Consejo que luego que con ella / fueren rrequeridos rresçiban de vos la solepnidad que en tal caso se rre- / quiere e vos ayan e rresçiban por del mi Consejo e vsen con vos en el segunt / que lo han fecho e fassen e deuen faser con los otros del mi Consejo et / desde aqui vos rresçibo e he por rresçebido et mando e rruego a los / prelados duques condes marqueses rricos omes e otras qualesquier personas des- / tos rreynos e sennorios que vos ayan e rresçiban por mi del Consejo / e vos guarden e fagan guardar todas las honrras e franquesas e esençi- / ones e libertades e preminençias de que por ser del / mi Consejo deveades gosar e vos deuen ser guardadas segunt que / mejor e mas conplidamente lo fisieron e devieron a los otros / del mi Consejo todo bien e conplidamente en guisa que vos non / mengue ende cosa alguna e es mi merçed e mando

⁶⁹ AGS, Mercedes y Privilegios, Legajo 98. Folio 39-40, cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 261.

MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo (2012). De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, pp. 85-87.

por rrespecto / de los dichos seruïçios que ayades e tengades de mi en quitaçion para / vuestro mantenimiento en cada vn anno para en toda vuestra vida treynta / mil maravedies et mando a los mis contadores mayores que vos pongan / (fol.2:) et asyenten en los mis libros los dichos treynta mil maravedies en quitaçion / en cada vn anno e vos los libren desde primero dia de enero deste presente / anno de la fecha deste mi aluala e dende en adelante en cada vn / anno segunt e quando libraren a los otros del mi Consejo las semejantes / quitaciones que de mi tienen et tomen en sy el treslado signado de escri- / uano deste mi aluala e lo asyenten en los dichos mis / libros e vos den e tornen este mi aluala et los / vnnon nin los otros non fagades ende al. Fecho / en la noble villa de Valladolid a dos dias de enero anno / del nasçimiento de nuestro señor Ihesu Christo de mil / e quatroçientos e setenta annos. Yo el prinçipe yo / Ferrand Martines secretario de nuestro señor el prinçipe / la fis escriuir por su mandado. Va escrito entre rrenglones on dis / e por esta mi aluala mando a.

Fecho e sacado fue este dicho treslado / de la dicha carta original del dicho sennor prinçipe en la noble villa de / Valladolid primero de março del dicho anno testigos que fueron presentes / a leer e concertar este dicho treslado el bachiller Iohan Lorenço fisycos / del sennor arçobispo de Toledo e Rodrigo de Arganda e Iohan de Eruas / sus criados. Yo Alfon de Alcalá escriuano de camara del rrey / nuestro sennor e su notario publico en la su corte e / en todos sus rreynos e sennorios este dicho / treslado escriui e en presençia de los dichos tes- / tigos de verbo ad verbum con la dicha aluala original / conçerte que va escrito en esta vna foja en tes- / timonio de lo qual fis aqui este mio signo / (Signo) atal (Firma:) Alfon de Alcalá.

E en las espaldas de la dicha carta fue sobreescrito de commo se / asento en los libros del prinçipe nuestro sennor. / Leuo la aluala el dicho doctor de Luçena.

(Fol.3:) Por virtud del qual dicho aluala del dicho sennor prinçipe suso en- / corporado se pusyeron e asentaron aqui al dicho doctor de Luçena / los dichos 30.000 mrs para que los aya e tenga de su sennoria de quitaçion / cada anno por del su Consejo para ge los librar este anno e dende en / adelante en cada anno segund quel dicho sennor prinçipe lo enbia man- / dar por el dicho su aluala.

Azcona says that Juan Ramirez de Lucena was raised by Cardinal Mendoza. Around 1470 Lucena traveled to France, but gives no evidence in this regard⁷⁰:

⁷⁰ **AZCONA, TASICIO DE** (1964). Isabel la Católica. Estudio crítico de su vida y su reinado, Madrid. p. 202.

“We have the impression that in the summer months of August and September diplomatic activity fell away by both parties, the actual and Isabella. It is certain that it practiced a first intervention in international politics in order to achieve the King of France’s recognition of their right of succession to the Castilian crown. This initiative was certainly from the Cardinal Mendoza who had a personal stake in the French crown’s interest; he was chosen to prolong the negotiation of the servant of the Cardinal, Juan Ramírez de Lucena, in a way that the crown of Aragon would be satisfied, since he only managed to confuse international Hispanic relations with England, Brittany, and Burgundy.”

On one hand Juan Ramírez de Lucena, father of our protonotary, was the godson of the Marquis de Santillana, Íñigo López de Mendoza. On the other hand the Great Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (sometimes called the Third King of Spain) was the son of the marquis of Santillana. Consequently our protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena knew the Mendoza family very well and could have advised Prince Ferdinand. The Mendoza family belonged to one of the richest, most powerful, and cultured families in Spain at that time and the relationship with the Lucena family was excellent.

One can ask if Alonso de Lucena, who was in 1451 the doctor and advisor to the Duchess of Burgundy⁷¹, was family to Juan Ramírez de Lucena, because if this was true, then this reference to his person would only help the diplomatic efforts of our protonotary. Anyway, the Duke of Burgundy, much loved⁷² King Juan II of Aragon, and the relationships in the sixties were so good that they even included an existing project of marriage between the young Fernando, son of

⁷¹ **SERRANO Y SANZ, M.** (1902). Noticias biográficas de Fernando de Rojas, autor de la Celestina, y del impresor Juan de Lucena. In: *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*. VI, pp. 245 – 294. Citation in p. 258.

⁷² **VALERA, Diego de** (1878). Memorial de diversas hazaña. In: *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, Volume III (Biblioteca de autores españoles, Volume LXX). Madrid. Cited by **CALMETTE, Joseph** (1903). *Louis XI. Jean II et la révolution catalane*. (1461-1473). Citation in p. 52.

King Juan II of Aragon and Mary of Burgundy⁷³. Unlike the previous text of Azcona, the text of Luis Suarez⁷⁴ is different since it describes the great skill as a diplomat from our prothonotary:



The Philip III, the Duke of Burgundy (Wikipedia)

France retreated. Charles the Bold took back the offensive and, aided by him, the house of York triumphed in Tewkesbury (May 4, 1471). The Catalan resistance collapsed during the attacks of Juan II. The Great Western alliance revived, this time including the princes, whom kings of Sicily could give an unexpected dimension. Isabella and Fernando had hastened to send Educardo IV a diplomat with great skill, the doctor of Juan de Lucena, who a month before the Battle of Tewkesbury could announce to their masters the happy success of his mission. With little time difference

⁷³ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón., Cancel., nº 3410, folio 182. Cited by **CALMETTE, Joseph** (1903). Louis XI. Jean II et la révolution catalane. (1461-1473). Citation in p. 52.

⁷⁴ **SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis** (1964). Isabel, Princesa de Asturias. In: **MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón**. Historia de España: Volume XV, Los trastámaras de Castilla y Aragón en el siglo XV. Volume XV, Madrid, p. 303.

two solemn treaties were signed in Abbeville (August 7, 1471) with Charles the Bold, and in Westminster (August 29) with Edward of England. The basis of a policy of encirclement against France was set. The English monarch authorized the free navigation of Castilian ships in its waters and thus gave a good reason for popularity in certain regions to the cause of princes.

In another book Luis Suaréz notes that in Abbéville three treaties were almost signed, although they constitute a single undertaking⁷⁵, "On August 7 the Burgundy alliance was renewed with the Crown of Aragon - Juan II and his son⁷⁶ - and five days later his clauses were applied to Isabella as heiress and future Queen of Castile⁷⁷"

Thus in September 12, 1471 the doctor in ordinances decreed that Juan Ramirez de Lucena issue a certificate in Latin on the alliance and friendship of the Catholic Monarchs with Prince Charles, Duke of Burgundy, to help him against the king of France⁷⁸. The interesting thing is that the handwritten signature coincides exactly with that at the end of *Vita Beata* (Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, ms. 6728, fol. 58v), although this time (1464) it is still entitled "liçençiatu⁷⁹" This serves as proof that the father of Lucena wrote the book *Vita Beata*.

⁷⁵ **SUAREZ FERNANDEZ, Luis** (1965). Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica. Volume I. Instituto "Isabel la Católica". De Historia Eclesiástica, p. 60.

⁷⁶ A.G.S. Patronato Real, leg. 12, fol. 5. Catalan translation in: **GUAL CAMARENA, M.** (1951-1952). *Fernando el Católico primogénito de Aragón, rey de Sicilia y príncipe de Castilla*, Saitabi, VIII, 1951-1952, pp. 32-34. Cited by **SUAREZ FERNANDEZ, Luis** (1965). Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica. Volume I. Instituto "Isabel la Católica". De Historia Eclesiástica, p. 60.

⁷⁷ A.G.S. Estado. Sicilia, leg. 1111, fol. 7. Cited by **SUAREZ FERNANDEZ, Luis** (1965). Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica. Volume I. Instituto "Isabel la Católica". De Historia Eclesiástica, p. 60.

⁷⁸ **AGS**, Patronato Real, N° 3594. Document signed in Abbéville, 12-IX-1471. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 263.

⁷⁹ **AGS, PR, leg. 41-15**. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, Carlos** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A.

In the book of Doussinague I found a Castilian translation from Latin of the mission of our protonotary Juan de Lucena⁸⁰. The English translation is as follows:

Declaration of the alliance of Ferdinand and Isabella to the Duke of Burgundy, Simancas, Patronato Real. Leg. 41, fol. 15. September 22, 1471. (Translated from Latin).

As part of and on behalf of their most serene highnesses Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Sicily, Princes of Spain, the remarkable and glorious Don Juan Remigio de Lucena, doctor of ordinances, their attorney and ambassador has contracted with the most serene and illustrious Prince Charles, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, etc., certain confederations, league and friendship under some form, in which it does not deal with war already started between the most serene King of the Franks and the same illustrious duke. This is why the ambassador and attorney promised on behalf of the most serene princes, their masters, that if peace has not been addressed and signed between the King of France and the said duke, that the same war that is now detained for a truce will ignite; in which case the same most serene King and Queen of Sicily, Princes of Spain will give relief to the duke on the same side as Spain and take arms against the said King of the French with people from arms on foot and horseback to number ten, twenty, or thirty thousand men at the expense and cost of the said duke, with the usual daily salary of Spain as due namely for every armed horseman four gruesos the currency of Flanders and per archer or foot soldier two gruesos; and either said duke sends his own captain or just the money to pay such salaries. That promises that the said duke accepts and receives with gratitude, and also promises that the ambassador of the stated name, if fixes, signs peace, truce, or a ceasefire extension with the King of the French, the signature will ensure such peace, truce, or extension without prejudice to such confederations and links made between the most serene princes and the same duke, and will remain the same gentlemanly duke, free and ready to succor those gentlemen Princes if they were attacked by the King of France at any time, and this in the form and tenor of these confederations and league. And the princes and also the Most Serene King

Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, 168 – 179.

⁸⁰ **DOUSSINAGUE, José M.** (1946). *Fernando el Católico y el Cisma de Pisa*. Espasa-Calpe, S.A, p. 462.

of Aragon will be included by name in such peace, truce, or extension among other confederates of the duke if these princes want to be understood, and otherwise lords did not end on that duke such peace, truce, or extension with the King of the French. Dealt with these things in the city of Abatesville and written under the seal of the same illustrious duke and hand stamp of the ambassador. And also I, Juan Coulon, Secretary of the duke by order of his illustrious command signed this certificate on the 22nd of September 1471. Juan Lucena doctor. Initialed. J. Coulon priest.

This treatise of Abbéville was ratified by Charles the Bold (Carlos el Temerario) on 1 November in Saint-Omer, and in it Doctor Juan Ramírez de Lucena intervened. In the first months of 1472 the ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy — as usually occurred on these occasions — they travelled to Spain to seal deals. Firstly they interviewed Princess Isabel, and then they travelled to Tarragona where the king of Sicily waited. The bequested arrived on 19 August due to which the deals had to be ratified between the 20th and 25th. The important thing in our purpose is to ratify that, being the mentioned ambassadors in Toledo where the Princess gave them solemn welcome, Juan de Lucena pronounced in the name of Isabel a prayer in Latin⁸¹ in front of the emissaries in response, in turn, to which these had read of their lord, Duke of Burgundy⁸²:

⁸¹ **RAMIREZ DE LUCENA, Juan** (2012). Oración del Dr. Juan de Lucena, a los mismos embajadores de Borgoña (Praying pronounced before the ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy), Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Toledo, I. 5. B. 2. 3. In: **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012). De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, pp. CLXVII-CLXX.

⁸² I reproduce the Latin text that is contained in the book: **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012). De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, pp. CLXVII-CLXX.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena



Charles the Bold (Wikipedia)

**PRAYER PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE AMBASSADORS OF THE
DUKE OF BURGUNDY**

[fol. 17r] Domini Iohannis de Lucena doctoris ad eosdem oratio:

Ne miretur prudentia vestra, magnifici oratores,
ne miretur si vobis impraesentiarum praesidente pontifice
tantisque assistentibus patribus, incompertum me
5 virum diva mea princeps elegerit responsurum; delegit
me sane tamquam tubam non auro, non argento sed aere
factam quam ut flantur eius altissimi animi <et> resonarem
affectus. Quae igitur loquor, ipsa vox loquitur; nihil

[fol. 17v] enim sum ego quam aes sonans et cymbalum tinniens.

Reor tamen hoc munus non usurpari a me nunc iniuria,
sed iure quodam vindicari, tum quod tu pater, optime protonotariorum
protoclare, tantum mihi attribuis quantum tibi
5 retribuere nequeo, tum quod rei gestae congestor exsisterim,
tum etiam quod laudes et gloriam divi Caroli, ducum
maximi nemo profecto adstantium ut ego decantare

queat, qui viderim atque periculum fecerim; hii enim
qui audierunt loquuntur, ego vero quae vidi attestabor:
10 quanto decore me receperit, quanta fragrantia negotiari
mecum iusserit, quanta denique liberalitate licentiaverit!
Re ipsa facilius cognitu quam dictu est; paucum loquor;
plura peregi quam volui, pauciora quam habui, et tam
facilem se mihi reddidit ut vere illud Caesaris
15 dixerim: «veni, vidi, vici», sed Caesar proprie virtuti
attribuens, at ego Caesaris. Quid de illius animi
uiribus loquar, quid de potentia, cum in hoc mortales
superat, in illo immortalibus aequat? Si reges
a regendo dicamus, si ab imperando imperatores appe-
20 llemus, quis unquam obsecro regno, quis imperio Carolo
Burgundione dignior, qui dignius regat, qui humanius
imperet? Sed providentia dei nostri sanctiori nomine dictus est
dux, adducendo quin hoc epithema non solum a superis
datum sed ab inferis etiam rem publicam recte guber-
25 nantibus vobis inventum fuerit. Sic argentea saecula duces,
priusquam primus hominum Ninus Assiriorum regno potiretur,
dixisse comperimus; sic et complures sacrosancti populi duces
quosque insania postulante Saul unctus est rex, nominatos
legimus; sic, in libera urbe, Fabios, sic Curios
30 sic Decios, sic Metellos, sic Africanos, sic et optimos
quosque Romani populi duces, postquam Bruto Colatinoque
ducibus ultionem sui moriens matrona mandaverat,
dictos lectitamus; sic et penes illos magnum Asdrubalem,
[fol. 18r] Amiclatem, Ymilconem atque Anibalem Cartaginenses
appellavere. Sed quid tandem unquam rex erit aequandus
illis et ut affirmare possumus nemo unquam fuit quorum
agmine ducum, atque eorum illustrium Carolum Burgun-
5 dionem illustrissimum, agregabunt, qui modo Heriensi Leodiensique
bellis ut cetera taceamus illius gesta norint: quorum
primum Ludovicum Francorum regem fugavit, ut idem
Ludovicus, ducis trophea sequens, plauderet manu
voceque levata: Burgonia! Is dux, is auriga trium-
10 phalis currus exsistit, Ispanos principes, Aragonensem
et Anglicum ac Siculos reges, Britonem et Venetum
duces vehit secum ligatos. Nimirum itaque diva nostra
princeps, Ispaniarum herilis serenissima, si tali germano
gaudeas, si tali amico oblecteris, si tali confoederato
15 complecteris, et si cum citharoedo psallas: *nimis honorati*
sunt et cetera,¹¹ gaudes quidem, nam et regia facies
tua hoc indicat, gaudet ultra quam dici potest diva nostra

princeps. Magnifici oratores, quin vos videns et illum
qui vos misit videre credit! Utinam ut dixistis praeesset
20 divus noster princeps et pleno gaudio uterque coniugum
frueretur! Sed gaudium nostrum copiosum erit in secundis
rebus: quando princeps et dux noster Christus Iesus salvos faciet
principes ac ducem nostros et humiliabit calumniatorem.
Laudari a vobis laudatis viris diva nostra princeps
25 peroptat, laus enim bonorum atque incorrupta vox
bene iudicantium de virtute non est bonis viris repudianda.
Sed tam lautissime laudari, nec agnoscit
nec postulat, sentit catholice; quod nihil mortale
laudabile, laudatio enim post mortem est, quando virtus
30 praevaricari non potest. Set et pulchritudinis nostrae unaquaeque
dies aliquid detrahit, et ut quod pridie bellum videbatur,
iam hodie videatur turpe. Nihil quod ad deformitatem
producitur pulchrum est; solum in altum habitat vera laus
et pulchritudo Israel.¹² Sacra foederis licentias, grata, rata,
[fol.18v] firma, aeterna acceptaque hominibus omnia in eis suo nomine gesta
recipit atque consiliens tradit uberiolemque amicitiam
vice versari libet. Foenerarios enim decet habere amicos.
Vos enim, optimi oratores, thus et aurum offerentes,
5 gratissimi estis nostrae principi quae vobis semper amicas
dabit aures. Ex nunc tubis et iubilationibus cedamus.

When did the Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza join the Queen Isabella of Castile? That was precisely in the year 1473, but then Mendoza's rival Carrillo turned against her. Thanks to the influence of this cardinal the power of the church was greatly increased and now the church is next in power to the Crown. We so understand why Pedro Martyr spoke about the third king in Spain, when he was referring to Pedro González de Mendoza.

These years of the Catholic Kings have been studied exhaustively by one of the best historians of Catholic Kings, Luis Suarez Fernández, who observes⁸³:

⁸³ SUAREZ FERNANDEZ, Luis (1965). *Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica*. Volume I. Instituto "Isabel la Católica". De Historia Eclesiástica, p. 72.

The war with France dragged the princes. From the first moment they considered it essential to tighten the knots of the grand alliance, almost the only means of compressing the activities of Louis XI. Coinciding with the counterattack in Roussillon Juan Ramirez de Lucena, architect of the treaty of Abbéville, was sent to Brittany where he completed a full agreement in Nantes (August 8, 1473) with the representatives of the duke [François II], Pancet de Rivière and Renaud Codelin. By this means the Breton alliance with Castile, a few years old, would transfer to the princes converting into an entirely defensive instrument of the type equal to the alliance with the House of Burgundy: the coalition would also lend mutual aid in case of war with France committing not to sign peace or truce without previous consultation⁸⁴.

Although not knowing too much of the importance to the promises of cooperation, an important fact left standing: the Duke of Brittany accepted that Ferdinand and Isabella would take the Castile name. Juan Ramirez de Lucena returned shortly after the signing of the Perpignan treaty and found Ferdinand the Catholic in Zaragoza, returned. From this city the prince gave instructions that the agreement was confirmed by Isabella⁸⁵.

Here is a partial extract of the agreement in Nantes (August 8, 1473)⁸⁶ with the representative of the duke of Burgundy, Pancet de Rivière and Renaud Codelin. We observe that the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena had to defend the interests of King John of Aragon and King Ferdinand of Sicilia in France, as well as the interests of Princess Isabel and Prince Ferdinand on behalf of the kingdom of Castile.

Hec sunt que inter nobilem et eminentis scientie virum dominum *Johannem Remigii de Lucena, decretorum doctorem, sedis apostolice prothonotarium*

⁸⁴ **DUPUY, A.** (1880). *Histoire de la reunion de la Bretagne a la France*. Paris, pp. 328-329. Cited by **SUAREZ FERNANDEZ, Luis** (1965). *Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica*. Volume I. Instituto "Isabel la Católica". De *Historia Eclesiástica*, p. 72.

⁸⁵ Carta de 17 noviembre, 1473. B.N. Mss. 20. 211, fol. 70. Cited by **SUAREZ FERNANDEZ, Luis** (1965). *Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica*. Volume I. Instituto "Isabel la Católica". De *Historia Eclesiástica*, p. 72.

⁸⁶ **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012) *De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz*, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, p 83

et serenissimi domini Johannis regis Arragonum alti et potentis domini Fernandi eiusdem regis filii et domine Ysabelle Ispanie, domini Fernandi coniugis, regis et regine titulis, ac Castille et Legionis et Arragonis principis et principisse, procuratorem et ambassatorem ad illustrissimum ac potentissimum principem dominum Franciscum dei gratia britonum ducem Montiffortis Richmondie de Estamris (?) et virtutum comitem per supranominatos principem et principissam specialiter legatum et missum ex una parte. Et nobiles et egregios viros dominos Pontium de Riviere militem ... et Magrin Regnaldus Godelin dominum de Cosnes et Sentstalmis (?) Nannetensis in primis principem consiliarios et feliciter ad hoc specialiter procuratores institutos parte ex altera tractata fuerunt et concordata in civitate Nannetensi in Britannia die octava mensis augusti anno domini millesimo quattuorcentesimo [CCCCmo] septuagesimo tertio [LXXIII^{mo}].

On June 14, 1474 the French army crossed the border of Roussillon to leave isolated Perpignan and other places. Thus the diplomatic missions of Brittany, and Burgundy were launched to counterattack France, towards which Juan II was sympathetic. But Princess Isabella was not very happy with this, which is something that Luis Suarez⁸⁷ indicates:

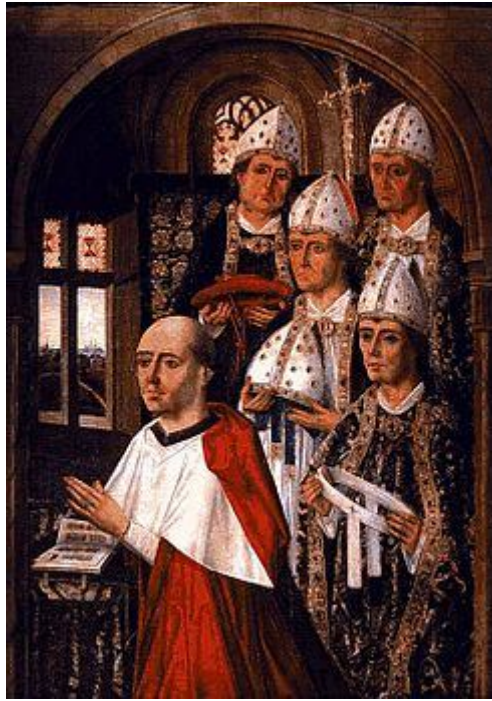
This time Isabella resolutely opposed the wishes of her father-in-law consenting to Castile to acquire serious military commitments. Peace, not war, seemed the most appropriate way to achieve their aspirations. He was directly related to Louis XI by Juan Ramirez de Lucena and on August 22 was accused the receipt of a letter⁸⁸ from the king. Louis was trying to gain time, something the princess thought of with favor; negotiations occurred slowly. Lucena returned to France but it seems that Louis did not receive the response from Isabella until the Christmas⁸⁹ holidays, when Henry IV did not exist.

⁸⁷ **SUAREZ FERNANDEZ, Luis** (1965). Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica. Volume I. Instituto “Isabel la Católica”. De Historia Eclesiástica, p. 76.

⁸⁸ B. N.P. Mss. Lat. 6024, fol. 186. Cited by **SUAREZ FERNANDEZ, Luis** (1965). Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica. Volume I. Instituto “Isabel la Católica”. De Historia Eclesiástica, p. 76.

⁸⁹ **SITGES, J.B.** (1910). Enrique IV y la excelente señora llamada vulgarmente Juana la Beltraneja, pp. 273 -274.

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Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza (Wikipedia)

Diago knew that the diplomatic mission of Juan Ramírez de Lucena had a risky nature at times, because in his testament Juan de Lucena recalled the great services he had rendered to the monarchs and that they owed more than 10,000 doblas "for salaries and robberies on sea and on land going about his work among the French. " As Diago pointed out, Juan de Lucena's stays in countries such as England and France would last a long time, so much so that people believed him to be dead⁹⁰.

It seems there was a lot of confusion about the diplomatic acts done by Juan Ramírez de Lucena and his brother Fernando, as we

⁹⁰ **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 264.

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sometimes see them have the same management styles. Jaime Vicens describes the management of Juan Ramírez de Lucena in August 1474 when there were secret negotiations for a wedding between Princess Isabella and Louis XI⁹¹:



Louis XI, King of France (Wikipedia)

Mendoza considered it opportune that Castile contact France and in this sense had worked towards this at least since 1474. In August of this year we have some news about secret negotiations between Princess Isabella and Louis XI by means of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, the bustling diplomat to whom we owed the signing of the Abbeville Treaty of 1471. His aim was to ensure that France recognized the rights they claimed on the crown of Henry IV fearing a possible succession crisis. Lucena, family of Mendoza and servant of the Cardinal, defended the same time - as repeatedly accused

⁹¹ **VICENS VIVES, Jaime** (1953). Juan II de Aragón (1398-1479). Editorial Teide. Barcelona, p. 357.

by Juan II⁹²- French interests of the latter, especially pensions that they did not want to lose in the throes of war. Despite the murky efforts Lucena unnecessarily messed up relations between Aragon and Castile with England, Brittany, and Burgundy at critical moments in the winter of 1475⁹³. Don Fernando knew how to counter this and while he was not seriously threatened by Portugal, he felt the pressures of Louis XI and his Francophile courtiers.

If we are to believe Miguel Briongos⁹⁴, then the protonotary had a son from a relationship with his servant Mari Diez. It seems that the child died shortly after birth. Miguel Briongos could obtain these dates from a lawsuit filed by Pedro de Carra on 16 December 1511 against the nephew and heir of the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena. Pedro de Carra was also a servant of the protonotary, and the lawsuit was filed by him because the protonotary had promised him a certain quantity of maravedies provided he would marry Mari Diez. It becomes clear from the whole process that this is a clear case of cohabitation, and the marriage of two servants was but a cover to conceal the relationship and its fruit: the birth of one child. As it is clear from this document, most of it must have occurred in 1477. On 23 August of that year the protonotary extended a deed for which, by reason of the marriage of both servants, he undertook to give them fifty thousand maravedies. The content of the process does not doubt the protonotary's generosity. It is evident that he always paid the servants in advance and helped them when necessary. He even took over the home education of Anne of Carra, daughter of Pedro de la Carra and his wife Mari Diez. That he did until the child was twelve or thirteen years old. Thereafter he placed

⁹² **ZURITA**. Anales IV, p. 288vº. Cited by **VICENS VIVES, Jaime** (1953). Juan II de Aragón (1398-1479). Editorial Teide. Barcelona, p. 357.

⁹³ **ZURITA**. Anales IV, p. 229vº. Cited by **VICENS VIVES, Jaime** (1953). Juan II de Aragón (1398-1479). Editorial Teide. Barcelona, p. 357.

⁹⁴ **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012) De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, pp. XCVII-XCVIII

her with his brother the Commander Lucena, Diego Ramírez de Lucena, in Toledo and arranged to pay for her clothes and food.

Vicens⁹⁵ makes a reference to a trip that Ambassador Juan Ramirez de Lucena made to Burgundy in 1477. Let's see:

From this strong base Juan II and his son restored their European alliances, committed so by the unlucky death of Charles the Bold. Keep in mind that on the same date of the action of Nancy the King of Aragon dispatched Hugh of Urries to Burgundy for the purpose of tying the duke to a more realistic policy. The Embassy was useless since that disaster ordered on the western scene turned out in quite a different way than the Aragonese had intended. The swift attack of Louis XI on Burgundy, the replica of Maximilian of Austria, champion of the rights of his wife Maria Blanca the daughter of Charles the Bold, brought on days of maximal international tension during which any alliance with those dukes could have become a more and more uncomfortable burden on valuable help. That explains the reluctant response by Ferdinand and Isabella to Maximilian, through their ambassadors Juan Ramirez de Lucena and Lope de Valdemorosín, regarding a new Castilian-Burgundian alliance (August 3, 1477)⁹⁶, and also the signing of a long-term truce with Louis XI of France.

We have previously seen that in these diplomatic managements there were two ambassadors. One was called Juan Ramírez de Lucena, the other Fernando de Lucena, who is thought to be the brother of the former. I think that more investigation is needed to determine this exactly. However, Miguel Briongos states in his thesis that Jeronimo Zurita confuses the protonotary de Lucena with Fernando de Lucena⁹⁷.

⁹⁵ **VICENS VIVES, Jaime** (1953). Juan II de Aragón (1398-1479): monarquía y revolución en la España del siglo XV. Editorial Teide. Barcelona, p. 362.

⁹⁶ **CALMETTE, Joseph** (1908) Contribution à l'histoire des relations de la Cour de Bourgogne avec la cour d'Aragon au XVe siècle, dans *Revue bourguignonne*, XVIII, p. 193-196. Cited by **VICENS VIVES, Jaime** (1953). Juan II de Aragón (1398-1479): monarquía y revolución en la España del siglo XV. Editorial Teide. Barcelona, p. 362.

⁹⁷ **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012) *De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz*, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, p. LX

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena

In the autumn of 1477 the ambassadors Fernando de Lucena and Lope de Valdivielso were on their way to Flandes on a boat, a richly loaded caravel. The boat was attacked and captured by two boats, one French and the other Breton⁹⁸.



Maximilia I of Austria (Wikipedia)

⁹⁸ **SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis** (1989). Los Reyes Católicos. La conquista del trono. Ediciones Rialp S.A., Madrid. pp. 212 y 228.

Calmette's work from 1905 can perfectly clarify the situation of each ambassador and as I see this work as so important, I firstly mention Calmette's study in French and then I provide the Spanish document (translated in English) by Ferdinand the Catholic directed to his ambassador, Juan Ramírez de Lucena. Calmette in his article of «Une ambassade espagnole a la cour de Bourgogne en 1477» wrote⁹⁹:

L'attitude de Ferdinand le Catholique au moment de la mort de Charles le Téméraire ne paraît pas avoir été mise en lumière jusqu'ici. Un document conservé en original à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris – et dont je transcris le texte ci-dessous – fournit des éclaircissements précieux sur ce point d'histoire diplomatique.

Officiellement, Charle le Téméraire et Ferdinand étaient alliés. En fait, les relations des deux cours s'étaient refroidies en dernier lieu. La maison d'Aragon n'avait pas trouvé naguère l'appui qu'elle avait escompté de son entente laborieuse avec la Borgogne: engagé dans ses entreprises vers l'Est, Charles le Téméraire avait laissé à Louis XI toute sa liberté d'action du côté des Pyrénées. A l'inverse de ce qui s'était passé en 1473, le roi de France avait pu reprendre impunément, en 1475, le Roussillon les armes à la main.

Au moment où survenait la catastrophe de Nancy, un ambassadeur espagnol était en route pour la Bourgogne; il arriva auprès de la duchesse Marie et ne fut même pas reçu. La duchesse craignait-elle d'indisposer le roi de France en accueillant le représentant d'une puissance avec laquelle il était lui-même en délicatesse? S'il est difficile de l'affirmer, il est naturel, du moins, de le supposer. Les circonstances, d'ailleurs, vinrent bientôt convaincre la duchesse que Louis XI n'était pas le plus sûr de ses amis. Aussi bien, ne tarda-t-elle pas à prendre l'initiative d'un rapprochement avec l'Espagne. Pour tenter une démarche, elle fit appel à deux diplomates, Fernand de Lucena et Gaspar de Lupian. Mais, arrivés en Castille, ces deux personnages ne purent rien conclure: leurs pouvoirs n'allaient qu'à ménager une réconciliations; ils n'étaient autorisés ni à renouveler les alliances anciennes ni à rédiger un nouvel instrument. C'est alors que Ferdinand envoya à son tour une ambassade en Bourgogne, celle dont les instructions nous ont été conservées et portent la date du 2 août 1477, à Medina del Campo.

⁹⁹ CALMETTE, **Joseph** (1905). Une ambassade espagnole à la Cour de Bourgogne en 1477. In: Bulletin hispanique, 1905-VIII, pp. 34-37.

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Les deux ambassadeurs du roi de Castille sont Juan Ramirez de Lucena et Lope de Valdemesorin. Leur mission consiste essentiellement à faire comprendre à la cour de Bourgogne qu'il ne saurait plus être question de liges dépourvues de sanctions, comme autrefois. Le politique éminemment réaliste qui préside désormais aux destinées de l'Espagne sait le prix d'une alliance. Il rappelle adroitement la défection récente de Charles le Téméraire et entend s'assurer contre le renouvellement d'une pareille mésaventure. Ce n'est pas seulement la duchesse qui doit s'engager, mais encore la duc d'Autriche, son époux: alors seulement l'Espagne prêter son appui aux héritiers du Téméraire.

L'attitude de Ferdinand le –catholique est donc bien significative. Dans les lignes écrites en 1477, ce n'est rien de moins que le programme de l'alliance austro-espagnole qui s'affirme, c'est-à-dire le programme durable et fécond de l'avenir.

Instructions of Ferdinand the Catholique to his ambassadors in Burgundy. (National Library, French Fonds 5044, f° 63.) Medina del campo, August 3, 1477.

What you the Reverend Don Joan Ramirez de Lucena, apostolic protonotary and Lope de Valdemessorin maestre of sala, masters of my counsel, have to do in Borgoña is the following:

First of all, when our Lord God disposes that you be in the court of the duchess of Borgoña if in it is the III^o Duke of Áustria, son of the serene emperor of Rome, my very dear and loved nephew, you will give him a letter, and, by virtue of belief in it found, after the accustomed salutes you will tell him the great pleasure and consolance that I have had from the marriage between him and the very magnificent Duchess of Borgoña, my very dear and very beloved cousin, contracted to what has been such that I do not believe that a prince of Christians could marry who so much has pleased me, and that you will not leave at the first moment, so with the debt that he has with me for having married the said Duchess of Borgoña, who by the debt she has with me for the great friendship and alliance that I had with the Duke of Borgoña her father, holy glory there be, that I offer my person and state and kingdom to all that would comply.

Also, you will give my letter to this very nobile and magnificent Duchess of Borgoña; after the customary salutations you will tell her how I received her letters through the doctor mossen Fernando de Lucena and with mossen Gaspar de Lupian and I heard all on her behalf that she wanted to say and explain, and our Lord God knows that, how much I would have wanted to know before of the death of the very nobile and magnificent duke, her father, whose soul God would have, letting me know of it the mentioned ambassadors of hers, and more of the works that by the mentioned death

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have befallen on the duchess, I have of it great anger and so much so that if any needs I would still not have with my kingdoms, without further deliberation I would take to the enterprise of helping in person and with all my estate.

But after I went to a long talk with the ambassadors I saw that they had no power to confirm the alliances. Told by their father who had a lot of experience it appeared to me that in this matter it is a big thing to have to understand without talking to them, and as the prior of Aracem wanted, the one who sent the ambassador to the Duke of Burgundy after his death and was treated in a certain manner by the Duchess that I should send other ambassadors, considering the accusations that the mentioned ambassadors told me about, because he wasn't heard or honored the previously mentioned ambassador, and the requests that they made to me, that I should send them more ambassadors, I agreed to please them. Henceforth I told the Duchess how I would send them to console and comfort her after her father's death and show the great prize that she has in the marriage with the 3rd Duke of Austria, my dearest and most beloved nephew who I pledged to our Lord God and who wants to bless and give them the fruit they so desire. And coming to a longer talk with the mentioned Duke and Duchess or with the persons with whom they argued with I told them how the mentioned ambassadors required that I should confirm the alliances established by the Duke of Burgundy and that the Duchess should save and help against the King of France who wants to disinherit her and, as we said, though they had no power over the Duchess and because it is required that the Duke of Austria intervene in this, I agree that you should send over there to understand and practice the confirmations of alliances in which the Duke of Austria still needs to intervene and even by many declarations about the mentioned Duke over the observance of the alliances, as you well know, at the time I was in major necessity and in open war against the King of France, the Duke of Burgundy made a truce with him for nine years, and how back then he wanted to name me as an ally and I wanted back then to be understood, it's true that the King of France didn't want to keep the truces with me or the Duke of Burgundy even if it was required, didn't want to break the war with the King of France, consequently, before I could confirm the mentioned alliances or make new ones, he wanted the Duke of Austria and Duchess of Burgundy to understand how I could be written off as inconvenient in this hiring process I can't receive or practice the abovementioned, I'll work when they send their ambassadors to conclude with me the mentioned alliances with enough power given to them by the Duke of Austria and the Duchess of Burgundy, my dear and beloved nephews and cousins.

Moreover, before you depart for there, work to extensively know how everything is in that state and the favors had to defend and even to offend

the King of France because of everything that can be done to me in the entire relationship.

Moreover, you will visit the renowned and magnificent lady Margarita, Duchess of Burgundy, leaving the mentioned Duke of Burgundy, you will let them know on my behalf that I am most grateful for the will and affection more than my actual state and person can be, that I learned from my relationship with mossen Gaspar de Lupian about offering my person and state for all things that to her are pleasant.

I THE KING,

Dated at Medina del Campo on three days in the month of August of LXXVII years. By order of the king, Gaspar d' Arinyo.

The year 1478

A manuscript 13037, before Dd 56, refers on page 110r to an "Original notebook ordered and written by Pedro de Ponce, secretary of Don Alonso Carillo, archbishop of Toledo, in which the process against Pedro de Osma, Professor of Salamanca, and... other curious pieces against this order is contained. (with mention on the margin of the page: repeated in Ms. 13087 from page 119 to 176). In the mentioned manuscript we find the following on page 110v:

- Sentence from Dr. Juan de Lucena to the ambassadors of Borgoña themselves

Note: By venture this Juan de Lucena is the protonotary Lucena against whose errors Alonso Ortiz wrote a treatise in Castilian, canonic of Toledo, author of these times, which is printed in fol. With others of his printings¹⁰⁰.

Analysis of all the documentation of the General Seal Registry made by Diago shows that the protonotary seldom appears among the signees of the documents and only a few isolated references belonging to the years 1475 – 1479 remind us that Juan Ramírez de Lucena was still an active member of the Royal Counsel¹⁰¹. We

¹⁰⁰ LAPESA, RAFAEL (1982). De la edad media a nuestros días. (Sobre Juan de Lucena: escritos suyos mal conocidos o inéditos), p. 142.

¹⁰¹ DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 265.

cannot discard that Juan de Lucena in these years also complied with his foreign diplomatic missions. The last news we have in this sense is of his trip to England in company of Lope de Valdivieso where both appear as ambassadors in England¹⁰². The following document serves as proof of this:

21-IX-1482. Córdoba

3615. 2.^a num. 17 – 18

Fernando orders that the payments ordered to Gabriel Sánchez on January 12, 1479 be accepted in the accounts of Luis Sánchez by the following concept: 200,000 maravedis to the ambassadors of the King of England, protonotary de Lucena and Lope de Valdavieso, and 80,000 maravedis for some horses that the Queen gifted to Antonio Alexandro, ambassador of Naples.

.....As in the past days, our evident letters signed by our hand and with our wax seal on the back sealing them, given one and the other in the monastery of Santa Maria de Guadalupe, on the XII day of the month of January, Year of Our Lord MCCCCLXXVIII, we send to the named our General Treasurer whatever money of ours into his hands providing or provided to pay the magnificent and beloved advisor our Gabriel Sanchez, now our General Treasurer, and the hours, in the hours as the deputy of the office, and know: in one part, ca. thousand maravedis, coin of Castile, for how many of those, ordered by us, sent to the kingdom of England our beloved the protonotary de Lucena, of our advice, and to Lope de Valdavieso, our ambassadors in the kingdom of England to make and fulfill his and the other duties while in our service: and in another part eighty thousand maravedis which by order of Her Serene Highness our most dear and beloved woman paid, gave, and anticipated for the price of two mules and two horses that she bought, which where graciously given to micer Anthonio Alexandro, ambassador of His Most Serene Highness the King of Naples, our dear and most beloved brother...we send to you... do not be difficult, indigestion, I doubt no contradiction..

Petro Camanyas: visa per P. Forner, locumtenentem
in officio conservatoris generalis.

¹⁰² **DE LA TORRE, Antonio** (1949). Documentos sobre relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos, Barcelona, 1949, Volume 1, p. 407. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), citation in p. 174.

In this document it is not evident if the protonotary to which it refers is Juan Ramírez de Lucena or his brother Hernando Lucena who, as we have seen before, also travelled to England with Valdivieso in 1477. Could it be that with “*the protonotary de Lucena of our counsel*” the word counsel refers to the counsellor Juan Ramírez de Lucena?

The ecclesiastic benefits of Juan de Lucena, far and wide in the Castilian geography, were noticeably incremented as of the ruling of the Catholic Kings. He even came to reach the dignity of royal chaplain¹⁰³. In the general seal registry we detect¹⁰⁴:

1050. September 10, 1478. Cordoba (sic) (2)- Fol. 83

Provision for the dean and cabildo of the Church of Oviedo, ordering they receive D. Juan Ramirez de Lucena, apostolic protonotary at the first dignity that in the said vacant church will, according to appointment to his favor given – Kings.

1082. September 17, 1478. Maria de San Jeronimo de Sevilla – Fol. 81

The same to D. Juan Ramirez de Lucena, apostolic protonotary of the council for “the first dignity and calongia and privilege of the church of Oviedo” – Kings

1919. September 14, 1479. Trujillo – Fol. 60

In protection [to Juan Ramirez de Lucena, protonotary] of certain benefits that he has in Talavera – Council.

It is again Diago who exhaustingly studied the whereabouts of the protonotary¹⁰⁵. On the other hand we see a reference here to the town

¹⁰³ AGS, Mercedes y Privilegios, Legajo 98, folio 40. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 261.

¹⁰⁴ **ORTÍZ DE MONTALBÁN, Gonzalo** (1951). Registro general del sello; ed. rev. y aum. por María Asunción de Mendoza Lassalle y otros, Valladolid: Archivo de Simancas, 1950-1974. Volume II, p. 143, N°. 1050; p. 153, N°. 1082; p. 270, N°. 1919.

¹⁰⁵ **AGS**, Registro General del Sello, IX-1478, fol. 81 y IX-1479, fol. 60. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno

of Talavera de la Reina and this can imply that the people there personally knew the protonotary. This is important, because in this way Juan Ramírez de Lucena could have had a son in that place known as Fernando de Rojas (Lucena).

It seems that in these years he was outside of Spain more than once and, as I have indicated previously, people already believed him to be deceased. It was therefore necessary to expedite on 30 October 1479 a protection in Toledo in his favor against those who requested his positions and benefits¹⁰⁶.

2039. October 30, 1479. Toledo.

Fol. 14

Protection for the protonotary de Lucena against those who during his stay in England and Burgundy confirming him dead, begged a bull from His Holiness over their benefits and charges.- King.

After the death of the tax lessor Juan Ramírez de Lucena, the protonotary and his brothers had serious problems in order to continue being admitted as members of the lineage of Chancellors. The Catholic Kings happily intervened in 1479 to obligate the knights and squires of the referred lineage to admit as members in full right in the third of Alvar Gómez de Hizana, one of the three men amongst whom the lineage was divided, the protonotary and his brothers, seeing that in it had been received his father, the deceased Juan Ramírez de Lucena¹⁰⁷.

sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 259.

¹⁰⁶ **ORTÍZ DE MONTALBÁN, Gonzalo** (1951). Registro general del sello (1454-1495); ed. rev. y aum. por María Asunción de Mendoza Lassalle; Valladolid: Archivo de Simancas, 1950-1974. Volume II, p. 287, N°. 2039. Cited by M. Carrión (1978). Gómez Manrique y el protonotario Lucena. Dos cartas con memoria de Jorge Manrique. In: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, Volumen 81, N°. 3, (pp. 565 – 582), p. 569.

¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁷ **AGS, RGS, XII-1479, fol. 66.** Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), Citation in p. 254.

On September 14 1479 the kings refer to:

“the mayors and other justices whosoever they are from our house to court and to all chief magistrates, mayors, and other justices whosoever they may be from the Village of Talavera and from the Village of Torrelenga and from Pinilla de Trasmonte and the city of Osma”. Communicating “that the protonotary Don Juan Ramirez de Lucena of our Council made us a relation by his petition saying that twelve years ago or more he had in in his occupancy and pacific possession by right and just titles of the benefits served of Santiago and Saint Salvador and Saint Miguel and Saint Leocadia de...Trasmonte..., and of the benefits and loans of and of Pinilla de Trasmonte; that he fears and suspects that some people, to the end of doing evil and damage, are against the rights and want to divest of the loans and benefits and the possession that they have over the so called trial and hearing and defeat by right before everyone” and consequently signed a letter of protection¹⁰⁸.

In similar terms the King signs another letter on 30 October of the same year when he:

“revered protonotary de Lucena from my Council” indicates here that “going and staying in England and Burgundy and other parts for me, some people of no true relation and saying that the protonotary was dead or with other excuses, begged for some of his benefits in the Roman court, and that now he fears and suspects that they will beg for his rights and benefits and will want to present the bull that they won to take possession of them. And I understand sent requests to our most holy father over a remedy for this”, and meanwhile sign an order of protection. Before the end of the year, December 27, the kings wrote “to the gentlemen and squires and persons of lineage and relations of the Chancellors of the city of Soria” communicating that “Alonso Lopes de Toledo, and prosecutor of the protonotary Don Juan Ramirez de Lucena”, to expose to the referred father “was received by us in the Lineage of the Chancellors on the third Alvar Gonzales de Isaura, lineage of the city by the scribe of lineages in proper

¹⁰⁸ AGS, RGS, IX-1478, fol. 60. Cited by Carlos Carrete Parrondo (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, 168 – 179. Citation in p. 173.

order, according to him he says that you heard it and as usual did receive the gentlemen and sons of the lineage and nobility to enjoy all the liberties, services, and benefits that were given for your enjoyment”, but after his death c. 1469 “you required that they stop entering and staying with you in your town halls and you will administer and receive persons of lineage” and “that you don’t want or want to do this¹⁰⁹.”

We are suddenly left with ten years without news of our protonotary and something serious must have happened. We have indicated before that in 1479 he had several benefits in Talavera de la Reina, the town where Fernando de Rojas died in 1541. Surely in the early eighties the protonotary dared to write his famous libel titled “*De temperandis apud Patres fidei vindices poenis hoereticorum*” to the King.

Cardinal Pedro de Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo since 1482. was aware of the whereabouts of the protonotary. When he found out that the protonotary had a debt with the factory at Colegiata, the cardinal send a monitoring letter to Juan de Lucena, on 22 August 1486 to force him to pay his debt¹¹⁰.

According to Miguel Briongos¹¹¹ one tragic event, most likely of October 1480, brings our protonotary into the spotlight again: the death of Catherine, daughter of the poet and corregidor (mayor) of Toledo Manrique Gómez. Later that year or early the following year Juan de Lucena sent his friend a consolatory letter to relieve the pain and grief. The protonotary was no friend of extroverted ceremonies

¹⁰⁹ AGS, RGS, IX-1478, folio 14. Cited by Carlos Carrete Parrondo (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, 168 – 179. Citation in pp. 173-174.

¹¹⁰ Archivo de la Catedral de Talavera de la Reina, Caja 256, núm. 1. Cited by VILLALBA RUIZ DE TOLEDO, J. F. (1988). *El cardenal Mendoza (1428 – 1495)* Ediciones Rialp S.A., Madrid, p. 193.

¹¹¹ MIGUEL BRIONGOS, *Jerónimo* (2012) *De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz*, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, pp. LXVIII, CXIII y CXIV

or ostentatious acts showing grief for the deceased. When he wrote to his friend and mayor of Toledo Manrique Gómez one consolatory letter for the death of his daughter Catalina in late 1480 or early 1481, it disfigures him (to see) those who have shown signs of weakness "watering his face with tears" and, finally, he encourages that both he and his wife Juana leave the mourning:

«Leave her [referring to his daughter], sir, let the womanly <infirmities> to [sic] those who dress bereavement; leave it and let leave mourning to Dona Joana [or Juana?] dressing (herself) with candid garments as Roman matron for entering the temple ... And I say not as inhumane Trojan people that you celebrate his obsequies with joy, but, like the apostle, that you little cry the separation of yours (family) and that you do not weep much as those who did not await resurrection, which those never think to see¹¹².».

Letters of JORGE MANRIQUE

«Consolatory letter that the prothonotary Lucena sent to Gomeç Manrique when his daughter, Doña Catalina, wife of Diego García de Toledo, died¹¹³»

Tanta prudencia y esfuerço, noble cauallero, fasta aquí todos conoscimos en vos, que si sufrimiento de vuestros casos siempre nos dio tollerancia a los nuestros. Dexados muchos propinquos de vuestra muy clara sangre que en los breues días vos son fallecidos, con quanto sofrimyento enterrastes con la negra tumba de vuestro generoso corazón al noble don Fadrique, y luego, a par dél, al illustre don Rodrigo conde y más maestre, vuestros

¹¹² Ms. 22021 de la Biblioteca Nacional, folios 1r-2v: «*Carta consolatoria que envió el prothonotario de Lucena a Gómeç Manrique quando murió su hija doña Kathalina, muger de Diego García de Toledo*»; It was published by **CARRIÓN, Manuel** (1978). «Gómez Manrique y el protonotario de Lucena», *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos*, LXXXI, nº 1, pp. 565-582.

¹¹³ **LUCENA, Juan de**. «Carta consolatoria que enbió el prothonotario de Lucena a Gomeç Manrique quando murió su hija doña Kathalina, muger de Diego García de Toledo». Transcription of **CARRIÓN, Manuel** (1978). Gómez Manrique y el protonotario Lucena: Dos cartas con memoria de Jorge Manrique. In: *Revista de Archivos. Bibliotecas y Museos*, 81-3, pp. 565-582.

serenissimos ermanos, caualleros dignos que fueron [sic; fueran] obidos en el tiempo de los Scipiones; con quanta moderancia no muy lexis de los sepultados, a don Jorge, no menos espíritu de don Fadrique fijo; con quanta paciencia con ellos enterastes las reliquias de vuestro noble único hijo, tan digno de ser querido. Y estos tan arrebatados males que la herida del vno sanaua la llaga del otro, vuestra forçada prudencia los supo y pudo tan bien tollerar que solo vos entre todos érades ovido por prudente en quen los estoycos quieren que jamás aya perturbación; y havn no trayamos a Oracio pontífice de los romanos, no al príncipe de los athenienses Pinicles, ni llamáuamos Anaxágoras ni menos a Xenofonte que nos consolasen en nuestros ltuosos casos con la tollerancia de los suyos, mas llamáuamos a vos y a vos solo trayamos ya en comparación de nuestras desolaciones y de nuestras consolaciones en enxemplo; y agora, noble cauallero, quando abíades de afirmar nuestra opinión, obiendo la del todo infirmado la virtud contra sus fines. Que en la lucha y en la pelea, havn que vna o dos o más bezes deruequen a su luchador, si enflaquecido cahe a la postre, no gana el precio de fuerte. Porque virtud verdadera es aquella que trabaiada cresce y no la que mengua. Palabra enuangelical [sic] es: quen mete al mano en el aradro y la retrae menos cojerá que siembra, queriendo mostrarnos en la persevancia ser fortaleza y no en el cometimyento; cometer a quatro y hoy a vno más couarde que esforcado la diremos. Dezit me qué aprovecha a los malos puestos al tormento, a los açotes ser firmes, costantes a la cuerda y a todos los otros tormentos fuertes, si a la toca confiesan a la postre su flaqueza; y agora a vos qué aprovecharán tantos y tan amargos casos con tan grand constancia ganados, si a la postre una toca de vuestra fija voz faze desdezir la firmeza; teneyz yo creo del diamante el coraçón, a lo fuerte más fuerte y a lo flaco más flaco, quando por los varones varón, quando por la fembra asi vos mostrays fembra, regando la cara con lágrimas, con las vnyas rasgando las hazes, enculpando con Dios a Job, a Dios retratando sus rectos juyzios, diziendo: por qué me juzgays así, por qué te me pones en contrario, escriues contra mi amaritudines arbitrando me fuiste enemigo, y no dizes con el mesmo Job: pecaui, qué te puedo o guardián de los hombres; y lo que de más es graue a los más graues, con el dolor de la hija interimitis el oficio de regir queriendo ser visto querer ser más que regidor, y allega de su derecho a Catón que su vnico hijo muerto dexado en el [en blanco] porque era día de ayuntamyento, bino en la casa de corte por tener senado; pues así aquel obiendo tollerado su priuado dolor no se retruxo del público reximyento, ¿a vos solo que teneyz tamanya provyncia he de poder retraher?; syempre fuy Pitágoras: que aproueche doler las cosas no esperantes remedio, porque lo que más dolemos con mayor diligencia reparamos y las sin remedio tener en poco por que lo que menos hazemos dolemos poco. Daud rey en enfermedad del fijo que más amaua no se dexó consolar y en su muerte no se dexó condoler; y consolemos a vos con vos

mesmo, no busquemos ajenos enxemplos, que valga tanto la prudencia hun día quanto suele valer la inprudencia. Leemos de algunos y vemos muchos por tales casos tan tristes que no piensan jamás poder alegrarse, y al primer día lloran y al fin del mes y al cabo del anno comienzan de rehir, viene el consuelo sin que venga la causa de la tristura. Vos señor, no deys vuestro lohor al tiempo ni consintays que los vuestros consuelen a vuestra muger antes que vuestros conseios engendrada de vos de tal biente, nascida entre tales dos braços y con tal marido fecha matrona quando a todos placían y aquella no enoiava su vida entonce le fue desirable la muerte. Volviendo vitoriosos de la batalla los fijos de Pitágoras congratuyendo le dixo su amigo: muérete ya, Pitágoras, muérete ya, quando la vida es gloriosa. No moría vuestra hija por cierto segunt su bivir, mas segund su morir; o que los ánimos segunt me parece trocastes: ella morió con el vuestro y vos bibís con el suyo. Dexat la ya, señor, dexat las mugeriles a los [sic] quales visten por duelo, dexat ya y hazet dexar los lutos a dona Johana y verstirse [sic] cándidas vestiduras como romana matrona para entrar al templo a purificar encensos y ofrecer ostias por los muertos en la batalla de comes [sic]. Y digo no como troyanas gentes inhumanas que celebreys sus obsequios con alegrías mas como el apóstol que poco lloreys la separación de los nuestros y no lloreys tanto como los que no esperaron resurrección, que jamás piensan verlos, y vos cauallero christianíssimo deveys pensar firmemente temer que vnos en pos de otros partiremos desta vida que muere para nos hallar puestos en la que nunca muere y juntos en aquella espaciosa y más que espaciosa ciudat de nuestro Dios moremos siempre con Jesu Christo. Amén.

Miguel Briongos¹¹⁴ lets us know that in 1482 we do not have any news of Lucena's embassies abroad (and in 1483 we already know for sure that he did not exercise such functions), so, in principle, his presence in court was to be purely circumstantial. Lucena attended where necessary - and that should not be very often, since he had been away from it for several years to fulfill his obligations as a member of the royal Council. Lucena himself acknowledged in the *Epístola Exhortatoria a las Letras*¹¹⁵ to be subjected to heavy

¹¹⁴ MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo (2014). Juan de Lucena. Diálogo sobre la vida feliz. Espístola exhortatoria a las letras. Real Academia Española, Madrid, p. 168.

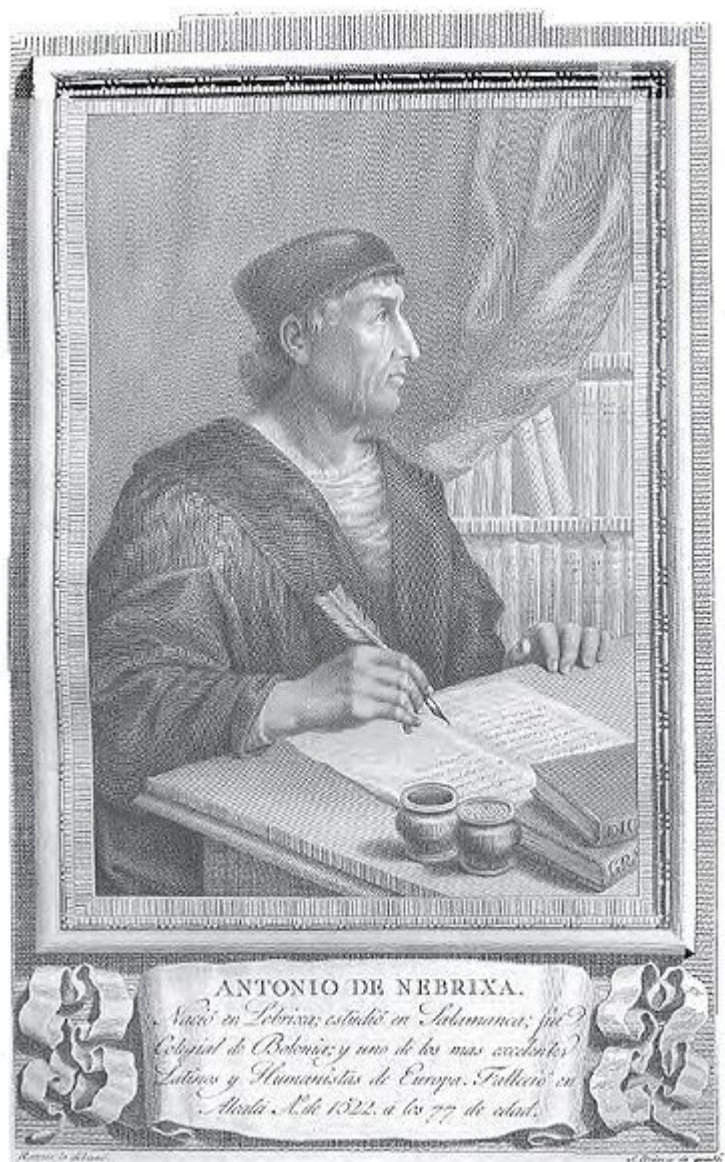
¹¹⁵ La *Epístola exhortatoria a las letras* la publicó don Antonio Paz y Melia en los *Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIV a XVI*, Madrid, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1892, pp. 209-217. See before all the detailed explications and

recreation and saw himself expelled from the Council [the bustle of the court]. It then seems logical that he wishes to express his mild complaint with such situation and to seek attention, especially from Queen Isabella, by means of an eulogy dedicated to her in the letter in order to try to open a new way to what has been a violent prolonged separation of our occupations, and which seems a clear reference to his person.

The intent is clearly noted in Lucena's letter. It unequivocally commits in defense of the study (in this case Latin, by a Council member belonging to the Monarch's Court and friend of our author, the notary and royal secretary Fernan Alvarez Zapata) as a step to reach the fruit of science; the ambience of a royal court cheering by the desire to know more, in the heat of Latin studies just started by Queen Isabella; the author's own conviction that this emulation can lead (to) reunion with the Latin letters, which until then had been lost in Castile, as Lucena will tell us; finally the fact that it is written soon after publishing the *Introductiones latinae*, of Elio Antonio de Nebrija, and inserted into the new atmosphere of cultural renovation that is breathed in court.

rectifications by **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2014). Juan de Lucena. Diálogo sobre la vida feliz. Espístola exhortatoria a las letras. Real Academia Española, Madrid, p. 165.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena



Antonio de Nebrija (Real Imprenta – Madrid, 1791)

EPÍSTOLA EXHORTATORIA

[209]

EPISTOLA

EXHORTATORIA A LAS LETRAS,

DE JUAN DE LUCENA (I).

Á Fernand Alvarez Zapata¹¹⁶,

Notario regio secreto, el suprascripto Notario de Lucena: salud y perseverancia de deprender. Ocio, uno es el que tomamos, otro es el que nos toma. El que tomamos es una voluntaria secrestacion que hacemos de nuestros oficios por algund espacio, en que nuestro espíritu recreado toma nuevo vigor para tornar á tomarlos, non cesando de trabajar. Como si alguno el día todo oyendo populares querellas, de la Senatoria silla se levantara á la caza, ó á otro fatigoso ejercicio, por recrear, del cual, mucho continuado, revocarse otro rato á la Senatoria silla le parescería recreación. Todo lo mucho es enojoso, y así es que á cada uno es trabajoso su oficio, y el ajeno recreativo. El escolar recrea en la Palestra, y en el Academia el caballero; y muchos, retraídos de un ejercicio, si non se meten en otro, como el molino quedado, el agua viva non queda, así holgando su cuerpo, su espíritu nunca huelga. Mas como el agua muerta stagnada que non se mueve, torna verdaza, llena de mil renacuajos, así el ocio, opósito de accion, que es hacer algo, non tomando para trocar ejercicio como del gran Macedonio, nin como del superior Africano, para pensar de hacer, mas para holgazanear como ignaro Crispino, torna sepultura de biuos, obscura, llena de mil viciedades. Dejemos de hablar deste tal ocio á los Egipcios, que lo llamaron trabajo sin trabajar, y holgar sin holgura.

El ocio que nos toma es una violenta diuturna separación que nos hacen de nuestros oficios, en que nuestro espíritu entorpecido non se puede mouer do solía, y cesando de su oficio, non pudiendo cesar de oficiar, la pública vía cerrada, busca de abrir nuevo camino. Como si alguno, lanzado del Consulado, trabajase hacer con la péñola lo que con el espada solía hacer. Ninguno fue tan atado que non le quedasen sueltos tres dedos. Más vezes corta la péñola al cuchillo, que el cuchillo á la péñola. De la gobernación pública Marco Tullio lanzado, echado de Roma, retraído en Tosculano, más y más sempiternamente aprovechó á la pública comunidat de los omes con los tres dedos, que primero con ambos los puños á la pública re de sus cibdadanos.

¹¹⁶ **LUCENA, Juan de.** "Carta exhortatoria a las letras". In: Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIV a XV. Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1892, pp. 209-217

Y agora, mi amantísimo Fernand Alvarez, Notario regio secreto, viendo yo á vos en tan grandes hechos tan puesto, tan ocupado en negocios tamaños que apenas os sobra tiempo á tomar lo que ninguno puede dejar; vuestro yantar muchas vezes es la cena de muchos, y vuestro dormir de continuo cuando todos despiertan; y que tomáis agora un ocio tan delectable de recrear cada día un hora en la Gramática; viendo yo esto hacer á vos, pensé aliviar á un tomado de tan pesado ocio, encargando á vos el que tomáis tan liviano; y así haré que comendando á vos vuestro incepto, mataré por ventura muchos á vuestra limitación; en manera que vos bulliendo en los bullicios, é yo expuniado dellos, les podamos en algo aprovechar.

Como quier, mi amantísimo Fernand Alvarez, que sean y son en vos todas las partes de prudente menos menoradas que en el que menos, y más que en el que más acabadas, mirando porque del saver es el cabo de la perfeccion, y su comienzo las letras, non quesiste ser contento ser llegado á su fin sin partir de su principio. Y como el caballo repasando al pospelo la carrera, manifiesta su bondat, así vos, la viril edat cuasi toda corrida, repitiendo las primeras partes de la infancia, aprendiendo las letras, descubristis vuestro ingenio.

Gramática non quiere más decir que letras compuestas. Comienzan sus preceptos da literas a, b, c, d, e, etc., y por ende, por ser vos gramático, non penséis vos por eso ser sabidor. Llámalos el vulgo letrados, non porque sepan las letras, mas porque han de saber lo que se escribe con ellas. Solíanlos llamar sapientes hasta los tiempos de Sócrates, que preguntado de un Príncipe de qué profesion era, como quier era auido en recia por inventor del saber, pareciéndole ser arrogancia llamarse sapiente, se dijo filósofo. Marauillado el Príncipe del nuevo vocablo y fêchogelo interpretar, como entendió que filósofo queria decir amador del saber, conosció que aquél era Sócrates, y venerólo. De allí acá los llamamos filósofos. Por esta etimología sois vos ya antes filósofo que gramático, pues amando el saber, tomáis la gramática por vuestra primera nudriça, de la cual ablactado, ya que sepáis andar y hablar, podáis por vos mismo tomar lengua de poder abustarlo. Casólo latin non es más saber que saber otra lengua, lo cual non solamente los omes, que aun las aves lo saben, papagayos, cuervos, picas, tordos, malvises, linerudos y todas las aves que tienen lenguas redondas hablarán latin, y aun greco, si les muestran.

Pasando el César Augusto, lo saludó un cuervo enseñando: *Salve, Auguste, Caesar, semper invicte, salve*. Yo por cierto crié un cuervo que, entre muchas latinas oraciones que hablaba, sintiéndome entrar por casa, altas voces decía: *Magister meus venit; ecce jam venit*. No lo dijera nadi más

elegante. Pues luego si otro saber que latin nos hace diferenciar de las bestias, aquél debemos todos amar. El que latin non sabe, asno se debe llamar de dos pies. Si *¡harre, que voy detrás!* non le digo, non aguija por *in pre sequar*; nin se para por *siste, te tergam*, si non le digo: *hixio, que te strego*. Oyen las sacras historias, y non las entienden, ni sienten si habla Dios, ó si habla el diablo; nin roznan, ni rezan, ni ellos se entienden, ni yo entiendo que Dios los entiende, porque Dios entiende la habla del corazon, que es una á todos los omes y á todos los ángeles. Todos hablamos en la voluntad un lenguaje, y non más, por el cual entendemos á nos mesmos. Éste entiende Dios y no el de los labios, que fue hallado para que unos á otros nos entendamos. Pues si el corazon destos non entiende lo que dice sus labios, síguese luego que Dios tampoco lo entiende.

Una mi hermana, gran rezadora, leyendo aquel Psalmo de la Pasión: *Deus, Deus meus, respice....* Cuando venía al verso *foderunt manus meas*, pasábalo sin leer. Sentílo un día. Díjele: -Hermana, un verso os trasportáis. -Respondióme: -Id al diablo con vuestro verso á las del Palacio, que tienen pollutas las manos. -En su sentido pensando que aquel verso era contra la pollucion de las manos.

Preguntóme uno quién era *Santoficeto* y *Doña Bisodia*, que se nombraban en el *paternóster*. Respondíle que *Doña Bisodia* era el asna de Christo, y *Santoficeto* el pollino. Son cosas éstas muy de reir á nosotros, y á ellos muy más de llorar. Y agora, vos mi amantísimo fernand Alvarez, creed á mi, y quered más que los niños se burlen con vos en las escuelas, que no que en las plazas se burlen de vos los viejos. Si habla en el secreto un extranjero latin, ¿sois vos entonces buen Secretario? Aunque lo queráis descubrir, non sabéis; y si letras latinas hacéis por otro interpretar, aunque las queráis secretar, non podéis. Seguid, pues, el camino que habéis comenzado; non canséis por ser luengo, ni por áspero desesperéis. Non temáis de ser tartamudo; tened que es peor de ser mudo.

Poco saber vale más que mucho ignorar. Deportaos con él y desveladlo, y por más zahareño que sea, luego lo haréis venir al sentido. Non sería precioso comprado de balde, ni las muy grandes cosas sin muy grand trabajo se alcanzan. De todos los bienes herilus dixo umo sino la ciencia. Y por cierto, si acá en lo bajo hay algun bien, ella es él; y si lo hay en lo alto, ella es la escala por do suben á él, en cuya comparación los reinos, las sillas y las riquezas, Salomón, rey, dijo ser nada. Todos los otros que llamamos bienes, ó primero nos dejan, ó á la postre los dejamos. Sola ésta, habida su compañía, nin jamás nos deja, nin la dejamos. La ciencia á unos hinche y á otros hincha: a los que hinche, harta, y á los que hincha, revienta. Los unos quieren saber por saber, y saben; los otros, porque otros

sepan que saben, y non saben. Vos, por saber, non por saber que se ha de saber, queréis saber; y por ende, por muy tarde que venís, venís muy temprano. De ochenta años Sócrates deprendió la música; Platon de sesenta, los números; Caton en su senectud, las letras grecas; Jerónimo, las hebreas; David antes de Rey non leemos que leyese; después, entre los strépitos de las armas tanto aprendió, que en el Psalmo cxxvj non se gloriaba de pastor ser hecho Rey, y gloriábase ser más docto que sus doctores. Publio Scipion, armando en Sicilia contra Cartago, vestido como escolar, cadal día entraba las escuelas á oir la gramática; non tuvo vergüenza der de los niños vencido arguyendo el que peleando venció los varones. Non busquemos ajenos testigos de oídas; tomemos de vista los nuestros. Alonso de Aragon, rey en Italia, por hablar sin trujaman con Frederico, Imperador, viejo la deprendió. Su gran Senescal en mayor edat que agora vos imitó á su señor; é yo fui á Roma grandevo, y mi gramática castellana troqué con los niños por la suya italiana. Fernando Cordobés, mayor luminar de nuestros días, por las escuelas francesas pintado, se lavó en las fuentes de Italia; y como niño se tornó de cabo á pintar. Callemos de todos; todos callemos ante la muy resplandeciente Diana, Reina nuestra Isabel, casada, madre, reina, y tan grande, asentando nuestros reales, ordenando nuestras batallas; nuestros cercos parando; oyendo nuestras querellas; nuestros juicios formando; inventando vestires; pompas hablando; escuchando músicos; toreas mirando; rodando sus reinos; andando, andando, y nunca parando; gramática oyendo, recrea. ¡O ingenio del cielo armado en la tierra! ¡O esfuerzo real, asentado en flaqueza! ¡O corazón de varon vestido de hembra, ejemplo de todas las reinas, de todas las mugeres dechado, y de todos los hombres materia de letras! ¿Quién tan torpe, tan rudo, que non las aprenda? La muy clara ninfa Carmenta letras latinas nos dio; perdidas en nuestra Castilla, esta diua serena las anda buscando. Si al su resplandor miramos todos por ellas, non puede ser que non las hallemos.

Si las manda su grandeza pregonar: Quien sabe de las letras latinas que perdió Castilla, véngalo á decir á su dueño, y habrá buen hallazgo; por cobdicia del premio, más presto se hallarán que se perdieron. Honor pare artes, y á todos enciende al estudio la gloria. ¿Non vedes cuántos comienzan á aprender admirando su Realeza? Lo que los reyes hacen, bueno ó malo, todos ensayamos de hacer. Si es bueno, por aplacer á nos mesmos; y si malo, por aplacer á ellos. Jugaba el Rey, éramos todos tahúres; studia la Reina, somos agora estudiantes. Y si vos me confesáis lo cierto, es cierto que su studio es causa del vuestro; ó sea por agradarla, ó sea porque os agrada, ó por envidia de los que han comenzado á seguirla.

Ello sea, y sea porque se sea: buena es la emulación, que suele aguijar á los ingeniosos que non les pase otro delante, como quando los caballos corren á la pareja. Y muy provechosa la autoritat de tan egregio maestro, la cual non menos que la doctrina de Cratipo estimaba Tullio, aun aprovechando á Marco, su hijo. Alegróse Philipo Macedo porque en tiempo de Aristóteles le nasció hijo que le fuese discípulo. De un remendon cortada una ropa, non la sabe Torrijos después adobar; de un tosco cantero sculpido Mercurio, ni Phidias, ni Praxiteles la pudieron jamás emendar. Todas las primeras cortezas son blandas de pegar y duras de raer, y por esto una pintura mal se asienta sobre otra; porque digo que os aprovechan mucho los primeros rudimentos de tan erudito preceptor rescibir, y ésta mi benévola persuasión algo más os haga ligero, como al caballo las voces con las espuelas.

Deliberaba yo, mi amantísimo Fernand Alvarez, enviaros ésta mi mensajera en latin, por teneros en tranco, y non volveros al paso; mas porque, como dije de suso, podamos aprovechar á otros, me fue necesario hablar con vos como con ellos; mas es de mí tornarla para vos latina y para ellos; mas es de mí tornarla para vos latina y para ellos vulgar. Vale, mi Fernando, *vale, et precepta haec mea libi serua, sime diligis teque amas. Vale.*

Juan Ramirez de Lucena had to compose the *Tratado de los gualardones* [Treaty of the Awards] in 1482 in all probability according to which it is mentioned in the early stages of it, alluding to the beginning of the war of Granada¹¹⁷.

Comiença un tratado que el protonotario de Luçena copilo de los gualardones que antiguamente se dauan a los caualleros que auian seruido en las gueras, e del ofiçio de los harantes haze primero un razonamiento o exortaçon para la guerra¹¹⁸.

A todos los militares nobles varones, el protonotario de Luçena. Salud y onrra. Commo quier que la virtud por sy mesma es de querer, porque

¹¹⁷ MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo (2014) Juan de Lucena. Diálogo sobre la vida feliz. Epístola Exhortatoria a las letras, p. 71

¹¹⁸ RAMIREZ LUCENA, Juan de. “Comiença un tratado que el protonotario de Luçena copilo de los gualardones que antiguamente se dauan a los caualleros que auian seruido en las gueras, e del ofiçio de los harantes haze primero un razonamiento o exortaçon para la guerra”. Transcription of LAPESA, Rafael (1982). De la edad media a nuestros días. (Sobre Juan de Lucena: escritos suyos mal conocidos o inéditos), pp. 136-144.

allende de yllustrar los varones trae consigo una tal delectación que harta los ánimos que la resçiben, mucho más pero es de amar por el premio que se espera por ella. Nazçe della la gloria y dela gloria nazçe ella. ¿Quién de vosotros, caualleros, militares, nobles varones, con tanto peligro atantas afrentas se parasse syno esperase de su virtud otro fruto que la sola delectación de aquellas trae consigo? ¿Quién tantas vezes passaria los puertos de Çafarraya? Quién tantos días syn quitar la bauera beueria las turuias aguas de Bética? ¿Quién combatiría gente tan báruara? ¿Quién arrimaria alos altos muros las escalas, quién subyria el primero por ellas no esperando la gloria del premio? Ninguno, por çierto. Los epitafios, los týtulos, las estatuas, los trivnfales arcos atyuaron a los romanos ssu virtud mas quel deleyte della misma; y tanto la república avmentó quanto creció la fama de sus defensores. Ca la remuneración haze más poderoso al que la haze, y al que la resçibe más merecedor y osado. Pues agora en tan gloriosa enpresa que los serenissimos reyes nuestros señores Ferrando y Ysabel, juntamente ynperando, por dilatar el nonbre christiano, por rematar al morisco de todas las partes dEspaña, en estos nuestros tyenpos an enprendido, no exçitaria –yo creo- vuestros generosos coraçones a seruyr los enella sola la dulçor de la virtud: tantos tan amargos bocados non se podrian tragar con sola ella. Otra cosa mayor, otra cosa más grande los despierta: la gloria, la fama, la qual, commo cosa transytoria avn que la deuaes en poco tener, por ser cadahalso de la virtud non se deue menospreçiar. En pero las merçedes que desu señoria real se esperan las abiurán los coraçones y los atraerán a ello más prontamente; las quales, avnque los coraçones no harten, contentan las voluntades. Y por yo exortar a ellos y abyvar a vosotros, eneste pequeño libelo recogy de algunas derramadas ystorias las retribuciones que a los buenos caualleros solyan hazer los buenos reyes. Adonde satysfaré otrosy a los que desean saber quién fue el ynventor del oficio y preheminencia delos haravtes y reyes darmas. Léalo vuestra nobleza a su claridat y perdone muy obtusidat y rudeza.

Comença lo que dize el protonotario de Luçena de las antigüedades de los galardones que davan a los caualleros quando llegavan ala vejez; y declara en comienço el nombre de harantes y de donde ovieron comienço.

Haravtes son dichos en latýn heraldos, los quales sson aquellos que los antiguos héroas, mayores de los onbres y menores delos dioses, dezýan. Quando quier que por famosos hechos exerçitados veýan algunos en virtud exçeler, ssy algo sobre natura marauillosamente ouiese hecho, enel cathólogo delos dioses los ponían; y sy no era su virtud tan estymada que les paresçia deuerse llamarse dioses, pensauan ser muy ynjusto no llamarlos más que onbres; y por medio llamáronlos éroas, que quiere dezir

ssemejantes a dioses. Por dyversas gentes a tiempos discurrido este vocablo héroes, y corrompydo, vnos heraldos y otros harautes los dizen.

Ynstituyólos primero que nady aquel Dionisio que primero con armas conquistó las rudas gentes derramadas por Yndia. De cortezas armados, vestidos de pieles, crudas carnes comiendo, los forçó venir a beuir en poblado; y edificar, arar, senbrar y coger panes, plantar viñas y hazer vino, armarse de armas marciales y adorar los dioses les enseñó. Dexándolos algund tanto ya ordenados, quieriéndose passar a otras conquistas, eran muchos ensu compañía delas armas y vejez tan quebrantados que, yr conél no pudiendo nyn quedarse syn él comportando, maldiziendo los fados porque su vida fenescían en oçio, con lágrimas le suplicaron que atados ençima desus caualllos consigo los lleuase, para que tomasen conél la muerte allý do syenpre posseyeron conél la vida. A los quales respondió Dinonisio:

«Caualleros mios, mys companeros y ermanos, asaz avéyes guerreado; ni podés ya morir, ca vuestra virtud os haze ynmortales. Dexad a mi buscar la holgura que vosotros tenéys ya hallada. Reposen ya vuestros pies en tierra tan fértyl que vuestras manos an conquistado, y para siempre la poseed. Yo vos suelto eneste día de todos los trabajos de la milicia; de todas sus obligaciones sed ya sueltos. Sea vuestro premio ser syn premia. Veteranos cavalleros, héroas sed llamados. Seyendo nascidos onbres, beuryés quanto los dioses. Sea de aquí adelante vuestro ofiçio la república assossegar, yncrepar los malos, loar los buenos, no tractar negoçios viles, no seruiles obras obrar por do ganando para beuir la cavsá del beuir se perdyese. Por do quier que vaes los reyes vos den onesto mantenimiento y vestyr onrado; sus diuissas y sus ropas de dexa. Sea vuestra palabra onesta y verdadera, no mintrosa vuestra lengua, porque todos an destar a vuestro dicho. Los buenos hechos escondidos traed a mercado, y en las plaças proclamad las trayçiones; pregonad por ynfames los violadores de treguas; y syn vuestro aplazamiento, quien diere batalla pierda la gloria del vençimiento. Libres y seguros passad por do fuéredes quien quier que de hecho o de palabra vos ynjuriare, muera por ello. Y quiero que de vos otros mis amigos sea Espartemba vuestro rey, que riga a Yndia y gue vos onrre y que vos guarde vuestros privilejos; que sobrados mantenimientos y largos acostamientos vos dé todos tiempos; y pues de vuestra orden es venido a la silla real, él onrre mucho a vosotros; y vosotros reuerid mucho aél, por que destas gentes ylustres sea él en más tenido y vosotros en más acatados. Asus hijos dad reuerençia, aconsejaldos a cosas buenas y exortaldos a grandes hechos; y en caso que sus hijos fallesçieren syn hijos, elegid delos vuestros al más digno rey a Yndia».

Y assi consollados sus éroas, Dionisio su exérçito retraxo dela Yndia.

Espartemba, governando por consejo delos héroas, reynó paçifico en Yndia çinquenta y dos años; y dexó subçesor a Budam su vnigénito, el qual, commo reynase veynte años, ynstituyó asu hijo Cradona rey ensu vida. Después del qual, muerto syn hijos, doze reyes subcesiuamente desta generaci3n éros reynaron en Yndia fasta que Hércoles, domada la tyrania y amansada la crueldat, passó en Yndia y el reyno delos éroas ocupó para ssi; no les quitando las otras sus preheminencias, onrras y priuilejos, les confymó y acreçentó su número, conscribiendo entrellos algunos desus veteranos caualleros que con el enlas grandes enpresas y conquistas suyas le avian seguido, de los grandes trabajos y luengo camynos ya envegeçidos. Y ansi Hércoles, XXIII años reyante en Yndia, su postrymera ora llegada, recordándose quien ynjustamente avia tyrantizado el reyno tyrándolo a gente que tan justa y tan deuidamente lo tenian, como quier que muchos y muy nobles hijos de nobles mugeres ouiese, a su hija Pandea, de forma fermosa y de coraçon varonil, que sola tenía, dexó el reyno de Yndia; y mostrando alos éroas en quánta estymaci3n los tenía, le dio vno dellosk por marido, llamdo por nombre Jabaren, diziéndole quele restituýa su reyno ala gente héroa y a él lo dava con Pandea su hija en casamiento: e por que no paresciese tomarla yndoctada, quientos elefantes y mill cavalleros y c.xxx mill peones que él avia en Ybndia.

Consigo metido le dexava, los quales fueron guarda de su persona. Reynaron Jaharen y Pandea gloriosamente sesenta y dos años, y destos nasçi3 Polincibo, tras cuya posteridat fasta el grande Alixandre por çiento y treynta y seys subçesiuamente reynaron en Yndia. E ala postre, venida Yndia al inperio de Alixandre, desta generaci3n héroa fue vno llamado Porus, de cuya virtud admirado Alixandre tanto lo amó que el vençedor al vençido restituýó la corona, haziéndole público acatamiento de rey; y añadió al número delos éroas quinientos de sus caualleros, los más veteranos y más prouados enla miliçia, y acada vno destos cada vn año le encargó averle de dar veynte marcos de oro. Y añadió en sus priuilejos que pudiesen oro vestir y prurpura, lo qual a solos exentos reyes pertenesçia; y que pudiesen armas y devisas reales traer y corona poner en los onbros, porque ponerla enla cabeça asolo el rey reseruó por nota de primaçia. De qualquier que de lengua ni con mano los offediese, al cuchillo dio su persona, y sus bienes al fysco. En muchos antiguos actores leemos esta orden aver seýdo siempre muy onrrada y en muy gran veneraci3n por todos los principes conseruada y fasta la cayda de Roma muy avmentada; y no ssyn raz3n, ca los caualleros sson sus braços del príncipe, Saúl, Daud y Ssalam3n y los otros reyes ebreos y los muy cavallerosos Macabeos esta orden tuvieron en mucho preçio, Jullio César, vençido Ponpeo y venido en Egipto, a muchos de sus veteranos cavalleros que en Francia, Bretaña y Jermania pusieron sus pechos por escudos del suyo, onrró desta onrra. Ni

Octauiano Augusto tan preclara gente no en menos tobo quelos passados; el qual a Marco Antonio vençido y Cleopatra muerta, la soberuia delos partos amasada, los yndus reyes de la fama de su nombre vençidos, esta ley promulgó que se sigue:

«Acometen los onbres y no huyen los peligros por gozar de la siguridad en algund tiempo; trabajan por holgar, y por beuir en paz mueren en guerra. Ninguno trabaja syn esperar gualarón. Por esto nuestro mayores alos caualleros que bien militaron no solamente ordenaron públicos stipendios con que se pudiesen onestamente sostener, mas muchas mucho mayores les dieron: coronas argollas, varas y todas las ynsignias de virtud pudiesen traer commo reyes por vn solaz y premio delos passados trabajos. Y asi conviene hazer a nós, que conel favor delos dioses y conla gran virtud de los nuestros cavalleros la república romana restaurada, avemos alta paz por el vniverso reformada, por que los caualleros que en nuestras tan luengas y duras guerras conla sangre de nuestros enemigos la suya mezclaron, ssyn remuneración de tantos trabajos y tan peligrosos no passen. El que por diez años syn reproche militaste, meresçido ayas, syn más trabajar, el sueldo de la milicia; ssey heros, veterano cauallero. Ninguno de ssu cibdat, de su tenplo nin de su casa te pueda evitar; ninguno te acuse de crimen. Non te apremien a cosa; non te agraiuen de dynero. Ssy en algo pecares, solo el Çesar te castigue. Quien feas cosas cometiére, ssea priuado, ssea príncipe, tú lo juzga y publica; y del que claros hechos hiziere, ssey tú el juez y pregonero. Lo que dixerés y afirmares, ninguno lo contradiga. Los caminos y lugares sséante todos seguros. Ama verdat, aborreçe mentyra. Ni amigo tengas otro ni enemigo enlas casas principantes. Tu comer sse apareja de acostamiento con que tu casa mantegas. De público sete de la muger que en ligítyma faz tomares; ssea de todas la de todos más onrrada. El que reprouares y juzgares por ynfame, ssea reprouado a todos y ynfame. Armas, ynsignias, titulos y ornamentos ue a rey conviene traer trae quanto quisieres. Dezyr o hazer do quisieres, dilo y hazlo commo quisieres. Quien te hiziere ynjuría o dixere, pierda la vida. Y por más holgadamente atu senetud preuer, los campos cremoneses y mantuanos, que contra nos fauoreçieron la parte de Antonio, tú y tus ssemejantes repartit para vos, por tal que con fyrme ffe y constante virtud aver aprouechado ala república te gozes y alegres».

Anibal esto mesmo presupuso hazer asus caualleros, sy la fortuna sus presupuestos no ronpiera. Athila, rey de los hunos, avnque cruel y fiero, tales preuillejos dexó asus veteranos. El gran rey delos godos Theodoredó todas sus çibdades dexó tributarias asus héroas. Carlo Magno, dela muy antigua sangre françesa, aquel que primero después delos grecos tuvo el ynperio romano, domada la rebellón de los saxones, el présul romano

librado dela ynfestación longubarda, tomada nombre de César y llamqdo Augusto, a muchos desus caualleros que conpañeros desus trabajos le fueran, desta guisa dio libertad y honrra:

«Yd ya, los mis caualleros héroas; ssed llamados conpañeros de todos los príncipes; de la onrra y desonrra delos bien y mal hechos justos declaradores seaes: beuid syn trabajar oy demás. Consejad los reyes en ssecreto, y enel público los torpes hechos corregit. Dauoreçet las biudas, los huérfanos defendet. Çercat los lados delos principes; pedid les vistuarios, mantenimientos y ayudas de costa; el que dellos vos lo negare, ynglorioso sea y ynfame. El que ynjuria vos hará, por reo dela magestad se tenga Guardadvos, pero, que tanta onrra, tamaño preuillejo por tan onesto trabajo conprado, con enbriaguez o con truhanería o con otro torpe viçio no maculés y perdaes, por manera que vuestra gloria en vituperio, y en pena sse convierta vuestro premio. La qual si enella cayéredes, a nós y a nuestros subçesores enel ynperio romano perpetuo reseruamos».

Visto avemos los guardones quese davan antiguamente alos caualleros envegecidos enlas guerras, delos quales apartavan o tomavan los más hábiles dellos para haravtes o reyes darmas; quién eran y quáles deuen ser, visto lo avemos. Si eneste nuestro tiempo los que nunca militaron, ombres rahezes y abjectos, tal nonbre, tal ofico y tal onrra tan subida tienen tan abatida, esto es porque todas las cosas desnobleçen. No es gente que por luengas hedades no mude sus leyes: en onrra la desonrra, y en desonrra ser trasmudada la onrra. Los que nunca tomaron desnuda el espada, la guarneçen de oro; y los que muchas vezes pelean conella, la traen desguarneçida. Visten rusticanas cogullas los doctores, y doctorales togas los ydiotas yndoctos. Huyen alas cortes los religiosos, y los cortesanos sse retraen alos conventos. Dan las llaues de las yglejas alos ydiotas, y los letrados tyran las sogas delas canpanas. Y assy vnos vsurpando el ofiçio de otros, nyn ay caualleros ni ofiçiales de armas quales conviene.

One thing is clear - when Juan Ramírez de Lucena left Italy, he had in his possession many manuscripts and works of his protector Eneas Silvio Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II. One of the manuscripts is the one that was found in an abbey in England, and transferred in 1451 by Silvio Piccolomini the Bishop of Siena to Mister Johan Hinderbach, secretary of the King. A large part of this manuscript was used by the protonotary to write his *Tratado de los galardones*. This astonishing finding is

indebted to Jerónimo Miguel Briongos¹¹⁹ and we hereafter only indicate a partial text in this sense:

<p>[1] Heraldi sunt qui apud maiores nostros heroes vocitabantur: quos maiores hominibus, diis minores fuisse tradunt. Nam quem prisci rebus regis insignem videbant, gratum populis virtute sublimem in deorum coetu collocabant, si modo miracula extabant, quibus eum supra naturam aliquid operatum fuisse constaret. At si miraculi nihil erat versus, tamen admirabilis videbatur: hunc neque deum neque hominem compellare fas putabant, sed medium inter utrumque sortiti vocabulum heroem vocabant quasi semideum; sic heroes introducti a quibus corrupto vocabulo heraldi sunt appellati.</p>	<p>[1] Harautes son dichos en latín heraldos, los quales son aquellos que los antiguos «héroas», mayores de los ombres y menores de los dioses, dezían. Quando quier que por famosos hechos exercitados veían algunos en virtud exçeler, si algo sobre natura maravillosamente oviesen hecho, en el catálogo de los dioses los ponían; y si no era su virtud tan estimada que les paresçia deverse llamarse dioses, pensavan ser muy injusto no llamarlos más que ombres; y por medio llamáronlos éroas, que quiere dezir semejantes a dioses. Por diversas gentes, a tiempos, discurrido este vocablo <i>héroes</i>, y corrompido, unos «heraldos», y otros «harautes» los dizen.</p>
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In his *Commentarii* Pius II describes how he decided to build a marble monument in the church of San Francesco (the «Minoritas») in Siena to deposit in it the remains of his parents. In this long statement the Pope quoted from memory the epitaph he ordered to place on the slab of the grave:

veniens enim in patriam suam Pius iam pridem edoctus, que circa funus matris obtigerant, Silvii patris ossa ex Corsiniano Senas deferri iussit et utrique parenti notible sepulchrum edificari ex candido marmore, quod ex ligusticis montibus allatum est; epitaphiumque ipse dictavit hoc distico: SILVIUS HIC IACEO, CONIUNX VICTORIA MECUM EST; FILIUS HOC CLAUSIT MARMORE PAPA PIUS.

Curiously, that epitaph is, word for word, exactly the same as Lucena conveys in his *Vita Beata*¹²⁰:

¹¹⁹ **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012) *De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz*, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, pp. CCVI-CCXV

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena

«como dará sus paternas reliquias á nuevo sepulcro marmóreo,
epigramatizado con oro: SILVIUS HIC JACEO: CONIUX VICTORIA
MECUM EST: FILIUS HOC CLAUSIT MARMORE PAPA PIUS»

Pius's *Commentaries*, the only autobiography ever written by a pope, was composed in elegant humanistic Latin modeled on Caesar and Cicero.

When his son Lucena was working on his chess book in Salamanca around we suddenly see the printing in 1496 of two other books of Eneos Silvio Piccolomini in Salamanca.

Historia de duobus amantibus and
Remedium amoris.

It is quite well possible that Juan Ramírez de Lucena directed himself to the printing house of the printer Antonio Centenera in Zamora in 1483 working on his book of *Vita Beata*.

¹²⁰ **MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO** (1998). El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II). Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, pp. 135-170, citation in pp. 146-147.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena



Vita Beata of Juan Ramírez de Lucena (1483)
Mold of the Library of the Escorial monastery. Sign.: 29-V-7.
(Courtesy of Dr. Jerónimo Miguel Briongos)

There in Burgos the work *Vita Beata* was bundled together with the work *Los doce trabajos de Hércules* of the humanist Enrique de Villena (1384-1434). The work of Villena was initially written in Catalan, *Los dotze treballs de Hèrcules*, and translated by him into Spanish around 1417.

The protonotary ordered celebrating Anniversary Mass, for each year, in memory of his parents on April 1, 1485. The document in question was found by Máximo Diago¹²¹ and the foliation corrected by Jerónimo Miguel Briongos¹²².

Juan Ramírez de Lucena wrote a letter to the king around 1485. Its text is not known today, but fragments very representative of his orientation and arguments have been preserved. In this respect we know that on 21 July 1490 appeared before the inquisitors the physicist and neighbor of Soria Rabí Ça Serrevi: «and said that for five years he had heard many times the neighbor of Soria and protonotary of Lucena say that the friar of Santa Cruz was the most dogged man in the world, cruel heretic, that the friar had worked to hurt him, that the queen - our lady - did not allow for that even if she were his judge...»

¹²¹ Archivo de la Concatedral de San Pedro de Soria, Libro 31, fol. 131v. See **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El pronotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 265.

¹²² Miguel Briongos corrected, after a personal examination of it, the foliation Diago stated (fol. 186). Cf. Archive of the Concatedral of San Pedro de Soria, Libro 31, fol. 131v. Cf. **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012). De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, p. 90.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena



The inquisitor, Tomas de Torquemada

We know that the Lucenas had been distinguished for their services to the Crown of Aragón and that the brother of the protonotary had been mandated by the king to be in charge of confiscation of the goods of the expelled Jews in 1492¹²³. But the inquisition was not peaceful. Many of the Jews betrayed their own people by punishments of the Holy Office, in most cases due to an overwhelming fear. Juan Ramírez de Lucena did not like the acts of the Holy Inquisition, so, according to Carrete Parrando, on June 3 1490, he wrote a letter¹²⁴ to the king protesting against the acts of this tribunal. It seems that the protonotary adopted a stance favourable to the converse Jews and contrary to the drastic

¹²³ **CALVO, RICARDO** (1997). Lucena: La evasión en ajedrez del converso Calisto, p. 39.

¹²⁴ **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeo converso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 175.

PAZ Y MELIA, A. (1892). (editor): Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIX a XVI (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, p. XI.

ASENSIO, EUGENIO (1952). El erasmismo y las corrientes espirituales afines. Conversos, franciscanos, italianizantes. En RFE, XXXVI, pp. 31-99. Citation in pp. 60-61.

inquisitorial procedures, so these points of view that he sustained must have seemed serious due to possible and considerable diffusion¹²⁵.

The date June 3 1490 has caused me several problems, because I initially looked at two historians¹²⁶: Máximo Diago and Carlos Carrete Parrondo. For June 3 1490 Diago refers to the study by Carrete Parrondo and the latter in his study provides no reference at all. Therefore to clarify this date I emailed Professor Carlos Carrete and the investigator of the CSIC, Máximo Diago on August 3 2005. As neither of them answered, I again reviewed several studies of Lucena in September and found that Manuel Carrión also mentions this date in his study about Lucena¹²⁷. However, reference 31 that is given «*According to o.c. in note 24, t. VII, p. 258, n. 1822*» refers to a work cited and this work I have not found, as the previous reference with the number 30 says: «*In Anthology of lyrical Castilian poets, Santander, Aldus, 1944, II, page 218. Page 129 of ed. De Paz y Melia*» and has nothing to do with the date, as I have not found it on page 258 of the “Anthology of Lyrical Castilian Poets”. My experience in literature is that when an author uses the abbreviation “according to o.c.”, it refers directly to the previous cite and here it is not the case, because it clearly refers to another book that I have not found until the idea occurred to me to search in the

¹²⁵ Detailed explications in: **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2014). Juan de Lucena. Diálogo sobre la vida feliz. Espístola exhortatoria a las letras. Real Academia Española, Madrid, pp. 38 and 39.

¹²⁶ **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El pronotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 265. Diago refers to the pp. 175-176 of **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeo converso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 175.

¹²⁷ **CARRIÓN, Manuel** (1978). Gómez Manrique y el protonotario Lucena. Dos cartas con memoria de Jorge Manrique. In: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, Volumen 81, N°. 3, (pp. 565 – 582), p. 570.

work of Ortiz de Montalbán, General Seal Registry (1950-1961),
tome VII, p. 258.

Archive of Simancas. RGS. Tomo VIII, pag. 258, Num. 1822

June 3, 1490. Seville. Fol. 15 (1)

Juan de Lucena, resident of Ciudad Real, protests against the given
sentence.- Advisor of the Inquisition.

Many things have now been clarified. I presume that Carrete Parrondo knew the date from the study by Manuel Carrión, but did not add any reference whatsoever, because it was also not clarified with the reference given by Carrión. He probably didn't answer me, because he also did not know the true origin of the date of June 3 1490. I never use the abbreviation "o.c." (abbreviation of cited book) in my books, because it can lead to error. I know that I go against the rules, but because one always has to intercalate texts and references during the investigation, I always prefer to use the complete references without *Ibid* abbreviations in order not to fall into traps of inadvertent errors.

Certain Juan de Lucena, a neighbor of Ciudad Real who protested against the sentence of the Inquisition Council, is likely to be a different person from our protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena who lived in Soria. In other words, on this basis I stopped believing in that letter from Juan Ramírez de Lucena or in that date of June 3, 1490. That confirms the need to scrupulously check all facts that are written, and that they do not differ in the slightest.

According to the famous Nicolás Antonio¹²⁸ the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena had directed to the King a brochure with the title: "*De temperandis apud Patres fidei vindices poenis hoereticorum*". I think that Juan de Lucena de Ciudad Real does not have anything to do with our Juan Ramírez de Lucena who wrote

¹²⁸ **PAZ Y MELIA, A.** (1892). (editor): Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIX a XVI (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, p. XI.

this brochure to the Kings around 1485, just as claimed to the Holy Inquisition the physicist, Rabi Ça Serreui, the neighbor of Soria, on July 21 1490.

Abad de Covarrubias (1486-1493)

Thanks to the research of Dr. Miguel Briongos we know that the Monarchs remained relevant with the protonotary and gave him new posts. This time he would be Member of the Royal Council. Juan Ramírez de Lucena appointed abbot of Covarrubias. Diego Fernandez de Castro, who had occupied this post from 1466 to 1486 was succeeded by the protonotary Lucena. On 12 March 1487 the protonotary is located in the city of Soria where he reaches an agreement with Pedro Fernandez de Aranda on the income of the abbey mills of Covarrubias¹²⁹. A year later, on April 17 1488 in Burgos an order was given to the protonotary Don Juan Ramirez de Lucena urging him not to meddle as a judge in civil and criminal affairs of the council whose jurisdiction belonged according to their privileges to the villa Covarrubias¹³⁰.

Months later, on December 10 1488 the Monarchs will award him for the rendered services the quantity of forty thousand maravedies a year for his lifetime, starting from January 1 of that year. Curiously enough, the kings turn to him, apart from the treatment formulas that we know as his title of protonotary and the position he held in the Council, again calling him "our chaplain and servant." A month later, on January 20 1489 he is granted a charter on the above matter and the places in Soria from which the incomes of forty thousand maravedies will be obtained¹³¹ are specified.

¹²⁹ **SERRANO PINEDA, Luciano** (1907) *Cartulario del Infantado de Covarrubias*, en *Fuentes para la Historia de Castilla*, II, eds. PP. Benedictinos de Silos, Valladolid, Cuesta, editor, p. CVIII and CIX

¹³⁰ AGS, RGS, IV-1488, fol. 18

¹³¹ AGS, EMR, Mercedes y Privilegios, leg. 98, fol. 40

A new grant, which is linked to the kings' grant of December 10 1488, is dictated on June 30 1490 in Cordoba to be conceded for the rest of his life "five hundred bushels of bread in half located signally in tercias of the city of Soria¹³²".

Juan de Lucena thus was a great defender of his race siblings the Jews persecuted by the Inquisition, and never feared expressing his opinions. He makes fun of the superior ecclesiastic hierarchies and ups the audacity. But we already know that above [or superficially] the Holy Inquisition were the Monarchs and logically a man like Lucena did not have in his plans to have a country with religion. It was a matter of getting rid of the annoyed people, the converts, and in this case the Kings started with the notary Juan Ramírez de Lucena. From Córdoba on 30 June of 1490 the Catholic Kings made it known to his senior accountants that they had decided that the protonotary withdraw from the Court¹³³. And if that was not to be enough, we could suspect today that the inquisitor Tomás de Torquemada ordered or could have given his approval to any suggestions from their counselors regarding sending the inquisitors to Soria to learn more about the life of Juan Ramírez de Lucena. Thus on July 20 1490 the inquisitors entered in the city of Soria.

Thanks to Carrete Parrondo¹³⁴ we now know a lot about the accusations against Catalina Ramírez, mother of the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena. We cannot leave out the testimonies against the protonotary because they help us notice the importance that the apostolic protonotary, Juan Ramírez de Lucena, counselor of the Catholic Kings, had in social life. The testimonials are the following:

¹³² AGS, EMR, Mercedes y Privilegios, leg. 98, fol. 42

¹³³ AGS, Mercedes y Privilegios 98, fol. 42. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. 249-272. Citation in pp. 265-266.

¹³⁴ **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1985). Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae, II. El tribunal de la Inquisición en el Obispo de Soria (1486 – 1502).

6 (Page 19) Soria, July 20, 1490. Protonotary¹³⁵

On this day appeared Abraén Alvo, resident of Soria, and retracted certain statements that he said before the revered holinesses in Aranda telling them firmly again that ten years ago he went as witness to the house of the protonotary of de Lucena, resident of Soria, with his uncle who was named Don Yucá Leví, is deceased, and was a great friend of the protonotary. And who knowing this witness with his uncle in a room of the house of the protonotary was the protonotary, and who he saw talking with his uncle, whom he told: "Don Yucá, you being the man that you are of great charity, why do you lose them?" And that this was said to him by the protonotary in Hebrew. And that he saw the protonotary and saw the witness that in seeing that took Don Yuca, his uncle, and both entered a house where they talked for a great while. The witness said this was on an Easter day on the cabañuelas (Sukkot)¹³⁶.

7 (Page 20) Soria. July 20, 1490. Protonotary

On this day, standing before the inquisitors, Don Abrahén Bienveniste, resident of Soria, said that more than twelve years ago he heard it said, being a witness at the synagogue, Don Yucá Leví, el Moco, a deceased resident of Soria who told some Jews in the synagogue to this witness that the protonotary of de Lucena or his mother, and that this witness affirmed having said that the protonotary, who was entrusted to him, had some things left by his grandfather, who was called Simuel Pesquer, had left in the synagogue, because he didn't want to lose them, and who committed to give to Don Yucá two or three thousand mrs. for those things at the synagogue. And that the witness does not know if he said that he received them.

11 (Page 23) Soria, 21 July 1490. Protonotary

On this day appeared before the inquisitors the physicist and neighbor of Soria Rabí Ça Serrevi and said that for five years he had many times heard the neighbor of Soria and protonotary of Lucena say that the friar of Santa Cruz was the most dogged man in the world, cruel heretic, that the friar had

¹³⁵ **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1985). *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae*, II. El tribunal de la Inquisición en el Obispo de Soria (1486 – 1502).

¹³⁶ Sukkot is described in the Bible (Lev. 23:34) as the "Feast of Tabernacles," Sukkot is one of the three festivals that were celebrated until 70 CE with mass pilgrimage to the Temple in Jerusalem and are therefore known as the "pilgrimage festivals." On Sukkot, Jews commemorate the Exodus from Egypt (c.13th century BCE) and give thanks for a bountiful harvest.

worked to hurt him, that the queen - our lady - did not allow for that even if she were his judge, that in this house the protonotary had made the most holy deed that in the world could be - if he could go out with her, that he had sent to Rome, and that he didn't know what they had responded there, as here it had been determined by certain legal counselors of Salamanca that it had been deemed erroneous. And that the enmity that the friar of Santa Cruz had to the converted was because the converted had killed his father. And I spoke with this witness about all these things, asking this witness who had principled this Inquisition, and hearing that this witness saw that to this the protonotary of Lucena said that to the day that the aforementioned deed had been declared erroneous he had always believed that I had that opinion of the deed, but that from then on God forbid that it is something else, it became what those gentlemen had determined [on the left margin: so until there could be something else from Rome or somewhere else that would favor him]; and that the deed that, as he said, he had sent to Rome to the archdeacon of Soria to be shown to a famous legal counselor, and that he didn't know what the archdeacon would bring back, that he still thought if that counselor would arrange with him to talk because it would be a great thing if he could go out with her, because it would be to go against the opinion of that evil man, the friar of Santa Cruz. And this witness said that a certain time after these talks the archdeacon came from Soria to Rome and this witness went to see him and asked what answer he brought to the protonotary's deed, and that this witness saw that the archdeacon said: "Oh, the spite of God be with him!", with regards to the protonotary, that he did not want to have taken it there at all, because they told him that it was a good deed, but it deserved to be burned. And this witness said that the protonotary of Lucena was and is much his lord, and that it much burdened him to say something against him, but that everything he had said he had said because it is true and in discharge of his conscience. And that he has done favors to this witness and there is no Jew who would wish him evil, as far as he believes.

(Friar of Santa Cruz = Friar Tomás de Torquemada)

12 (Page 25) Soria, 21 July 1490. Protonotary

In this item this witness said that eight or ten years ago one day he saw the neighbor of Soria and protonotary of Lucena coming down from the castle of the city, that from a laborer he bought four or five loads of firewood and sent this witness to take it to a Jewish woman, the protonotary's aunt, Doña Mira, now deceased; and that this witness took it to her and said that the protonotary's aunt was poor, but had some houses in which she lived on her own.

The precise text of the letter that Juan Ramírez de Lucena wrote to the king around 1485 is not known today, but fragments very representative of his orientation and arguments have been preserved: those are the passages cited by the «egregious and famous doctor Alfonso Ortiz, canon of the holy church of Toledo»¹³⁷, who hastened to reply through a treaty to refute the nineteen errors that he thought to have found in him, dangerous against the faith. Before, he says, he had warned Lucena about some without managing to make Lucena rectify them¹³⁸. The prologue from Ortiz has a sour tone, defending the dogmas of the church without taking into account the opinion of Lucena, who felt the Gospel as a love doctrine:

A few days before a neat letter came to my hands directed at your excellencies from the prothonotary Juan de Lucena in which he ingeniously with authorities of the Sacred Scriptures exhorts to your royal Holinesses to clemency and in a few places he reprehends and damages the acts and processes done by the inquisitors of infidelity and apostasy in your kingdoms; and with much license it is to indulge in your serene consciousness, great damages to come, and scandals to the major souls that receive the bodies of the condemned for heretics, which by the steps of his letter I will discover. That which all your serene majesties humanly have concealed. And as the impetus of the passion has blinded your understanding, majorly where the doctrine was not such as that you have straightened it to the truth, he has interposed a few errors against the Catholic discipline, which if remained without reprehension and your confusion, your highnesses would give audacity to whoever would want to write in reprehension of such holy business, even if guided by authorities of the Sacred Scripture, but boldly interpreted in a way other than that which

¹³⁷ *Los tratados del doctor Alonso Ortiz. Tratado de la herida del rey. Tratado consolatorio a la princesa de Portugal. Item vna oración a los reyes en latín y en romance. Item dos cartas mensajeras a los reyes, vna que embió la cibdad, la otra el cabildo de la yglesia de Toledo. Tratado contra la carta del prothonotario de Lucena.* – Sevilla, por tres Alemanes compañeros, 1493. – Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, I-1905. Cited by **LAPESA, RAFAEL** (1982). De la edad media a nuestros días. (Sobre Juan de Lucena: escritos suyos mal conocidos o inéditos), pp. 129-130.

SANZ HERMIDA, JACOBO (2000). Tratado del fallecimiento del muy inclito señor Don Juan/Alonso Ortíz. Estudio, edición y notas de Jacobo Sanz Hermida, Avila.

¹³⁸ **LAPESA, RAFAEL** (1982). De la edad media a nuestros días, p. 130.

the Holy Scripture understands and declares. And thus such sin worthy of confusion be reprimanded and that the publication of this letter by your kingdoms be corrected and reprimanded, I, doctor Alfonso Ortiz, canonicate of the Holy Church of Toledo, with more zeal of your service than ingenuity, with humble reverend of so many princes, invoking for this the grace of God, will extended the sail without fear of contrary winds and will sail against the errors of him who on the great tide of the Holy Scripture with dismantled boat and dangerous oars offered his sail to impetuous spirits of tempest, stealing as a corsair inconvenient holy authorities for his purpose. Like those who steal garments made to fit someone else, want to wear them in this form and to make use of them they tear and trace the first suits of these, so here this one twists the authorities and disconcerts the holy decrees, and those that were made in defense of the faith and in guard of the Catholic Church bring them violently for reprimand of the holy seal and Catholic acts of your highnesses, presuming with your small strengths challenge the upright judgments and embark on the divine counsels, being by God straightened your hearts so that with mighty arms you may remove the infidelity in your kingdoms so against the enemy of God that makes an efforts like a lion with public arms, giving the moors the audacity to challenge and destroy the Holy Church which in our times you have repressed and thinned and reestablished to the Christian republic and your royal crowns, of the lands that eight hundred years here were lost with cities and villas and places that are more than seventy lands, and rescued infinite faithful souls to the glory of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, as others against Satan, that in the form of a dragon by entrapments has sowed in your lands worked by the Catholic doctrine, so much spite that it has enflamed much of the wheat that had been born. And seeing how they grew more each day with spiritual flags, dogs, and nets you sent to inquire these venomous serpents and sinister vixens that little by little through hidden mines steal and bring down the walls of the vine of God; and you have already exterminated and pressured with zeal of the house of God a great deal and reconstructed the fractures made by the devil, keeping before your eyes that which king Solomon writes in the Proverbs:
«Dissipat impios rex sapiens, y incuruat sper eos fornicem¹³⁹»

Ortiz mentions in his treaty the errors of Juan de Lucena and from this even more is known about the passages of the letter from the protonotary¹⁴⁰:

¹³⁹ Tratados de Alfonso Ortiz, 1493, fols. Liij-liiij. Cited by **LAPESA, RAFAEL** (1982). *De la edad media a nuestros días*, pp. 130-131.

First error: «Talk I know not how to; silent I cannot be» (Fol. Liiij,a.)

Error II: «And if the torment would take away the detriment, I would silence as one who would suffer cauterization to save his life; more of one is more of the other. Better it would certainly be to douse two bonfires than to light them. Blind of the minor one they will hurl themselves to the greater one, etcetera.» (Fol. Lvj,a.)

Error III: «The soft yoke of Christ with light manes of reason is subdued; and the harder it is to serve, the whiter are the necessities: “jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leue”, says our Redeemer.»

Error IV: «It is not of now to fall into heresy; it is an old thing. The ancientness of heretics comes from Adam and through all the ages it is scattered. » (Fol. Liba.)

Error V: «Adam in the innocence of wanting to be God became rotten yeast.» (Fol. Lx,b.)

Error VI: «From Adam to Noah all were heretics.» (Fol. Lxi,a.)

Error VII: "From Noah to Abraham everyone was idolized." (Fol Lxij, c..)

Error VIII: «Abraham, friend of God, father of his son, was an infidel twice.» (Fol. Lxij, d.)

Error IX: «Moreover that passahe “father of the son of God” and furthermore did this glossary more erroneous than the text and it says: “Father of the son of God was Abraham according to the flesh”.» (Fol. Lxiiij, d.)

Error X: «Moses, great derivative of God, to the waters of contradiction his omnipotence disbelieved.»

Error XI: «Those which to your great majesty have sublimed are truth and justice: to one you have taken her land and the other have brought from the sky. I do not say that the truth darkens, but that it just does not shine; I say that inbetween the two of them clemency does not extinguish. That is why

¹⁴⁰ Tratado de Alfonso Ortiz, 1493. Cited by **LAPESA, RAFAEL** (1982). De la edad media a nuestros días, pp. 132-135.

it has been placed in the middle, so that it can be spirit of the others of which, one is crazy and the other would be furious.» (Fol. Lxv,c.)

Error XII: «Without vengeance the sins of many usually remain, because many sinners more than clemency ask that of cruelty only one sin be demanded. Sacrilege, cruel and superb is the discipline that pesters many and punishes few.» (Fol. Lvii,c.)

Error XIII: «The pious mother Church more and more venomous heresies has destroyed without burning so much firewood.»

Error XIV: «which is divided into three errors»: «Being baptized by their parents by force, they did not baptize them in degree; so if in the baptism of the infants the faith of the parents was amiss, and if in adolescence that of the sons did arise, more cruelly than infidels they should be treated, for they have simulated being of faith; not so much as heretics for they never were Christians; such simulation was neither deceitful nor taunting, but rather fearful.» (Fol. Lxxiiij,a.)

Error XV: «In order and the second of these 400 it is an error to say that the children of theirs, who by conditional force were baptized, did not receive baptism, because they were baptized to the faith of the fathers, which was missing in the parents. Folio lxxx.

Error XVI: «And the third in the order of the 400, is a correlario [coincidence?] that he inferred, saying that: well, as these parents nor the children had been baptized, they did not deserve the punishment of heretics. These are intolerable errors. Folio xc.

Error XVII: «And because this error first in all time allows, even if burnt on one side, the other should be saved. The decretal Luciana who condemns you if exposing herself her error was not attributed to herself - that adjudication is not understood, as some understand it, of her free will, wanting to infer that they are not to be received convinced and sentenced because they appear out of fear to come to save their peace; adjudication would be said of adjudicating, which means to promise asking oneself and answering; or if she deliberates or voluntarily promises it, God is the only inquisitor: it would be enough to promise not to relapse. This is what the decretal Luciana wanted to say, that otherwise the precept of the Apostle would be frustrated, who writes ad Titum: “To the heretic man after the first and second correction, avoid.” He did not say admonition, but rather correction; it is not neither can be called corrected for it is admonition. Correction, from corrected, is more of reprimand and less of burning:

corrige[re] is reproaching to correct with a moderate sentence. The Psalmist says more clearly: “In increpationibus propter iniquitatem corripuisti hominem”, and etcétera.» (Fol. Xcl,a.)

Error XVIII: «We must not imitate in such cases the ancient doings of God: firstly that which our flesh has taken, as enemy was to us Deus vltionum; now already as a relative it is not Deus misericordiarum, and etcétera.» (Fol. Xciii,b.)

Error XIX: «The Deuteronomius Law, which in this case is used as shield, if by fire is sent to set the cities of the heretics, of which we are incited and could be brought to serve their gods; not those that we can attract to worship our Christ.» (Fol. Xcvj,a.)

Although the prestige of Juan Ramírez de Lucena in the court and in the roman court – as former family member of Pío II – would save him from inquisitorial processes, the protonotary finally had to retract in a public act celebrated in Córdoba¹⁴¹. The treatise against the letter of the protonotary of Lucena written by the canon of Toledo, the doctor Alfonso Ortiz, appeared in 1493 numerating the suspected theological errors contained in the works of the protonotary Juan de Lucena¹⁴².

In this polemic we see Lucena's logical position and an unequivocal position of Ortiz, being created in Castilla, thus a very sharp cline towards the Roman Curia. We don't know the year in which he had to reconcile with the church in Córdoba in front of many prelates and teachers of theology, but it could easily be one or two years after 1485. However, it seems that Juan de Lucena did not lose protection of the Catholic Kings.

¹⁴¹ **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, 168 – 179. Citation in p. 175-176. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. 249-272. Citation in p. 265.

¹⁴² **AGS**, Registro General del Sello, VIII-1491, fol. 165. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 259.

Diago has also investigated Juan Ramírez de Lucena's activity between 1490 and 1491 when Juan de Lucena defended his rights:

Many documents of the 1490s also stated to be true that it was abbot of Covarrubias with reference to the standing lawsuit between the canonry of Covarrubias and the protonotary about the right to correct and punish crimes¹⁴³. Page 164 states that the protonotary had reported the mayors of Covarrubias because they did not obey him and committed crimes.

2305. 29 August 1491, Burgos.

Fol. 165

That Alfonso de Contreras, notary of the Chamber, receive the probations of the dispute pending between the district council of Covarrubias and the protonotary of Lucena, abbot¹⁴⁴ of this villa, on the right that the council had to correct and punish all offenses. – Condestable and Council¹⁴⁵.

Also in Soria in 1491 Juan de Lucena had to defend his interests:

2273. 26 August 1491, Burgos.

Fol. 308

¹⁴³ **AGS**, Registro General del Sello, VIII-1491, fol. 165. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 259.

¹⁴⁴ **LOPERRAEZ CORVALÁN, Juan** (1788). Descripción histórica del obispado de Osma, Madrid. Vol. II, p. 242. This page is saying: «D. Juan Ramirez de Lucena, natural de Soria, de quien dice D. Francisco de Mosquera fue hombre de muchas letras, docto en ambos Derechos, Protonotario de la santa Iglesia de Roma, Abad de Covarrubias, y Cronista de los Reyes Católicos».

¹⁴⁵ **ORTÍZ DE MONTALBÁN, Gonzalo** (1950-1974). Registro general del sello (1454-1495); ed. rev. y aum. por María Asunción de Mendoza Lassalle; introducción de Miguel Bordonau y Mas. 12 Volumes. Valladolid: Archivo de Simancas, 1950-1974. Volume VIII, p. 340, N°. 2305. Cited by **M. CARRIÓN** (1978). Gómez Manrique y el protonotario Lucena. Dos cartas con memoria de Jorge Manrique. In: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, Volumen 81, N°. 3, (pp. 565 – 582), p. 569.

Letter for fulfillment of the contract made by a Jewish neighbor of Soria Samuel Nasci with the protonothary of Lucena, about 40.000 maravedís. – Condestable and Counsel¹⁴⁶.

With respect to the year 1492 Diago says:

In September 1492 many letters and provisions referring to problems brought to the protonotary in Covarrubias were also granted. The document of page 26 creates a complaint against the Constable, who had in command the vassals of the abbey, being of the Royal Patronage¹⁴⁷. In the document of page 47 the secular authorities are ordered to offer favor and help to the protonotary for the reform of the clergyman of the abbey. In the document of page 26 the protonotary is even authorized to give up his abbey, exchanging it with Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, abbot of San Zoilo de Carrión (de los Condes).

An interesting fact is that the Catholic Monarchs continued protecting the protonotary.

License granted by the monarchs to the protonotary Lucena so that he can resign the Abbey of Covarrubias in Luis Hurtado de Mendoza (September 20, 1492)¹⁴⁸.

Protonotario de Luçena. Liçençia que pueda rresynar el abadia de Couarruvias en el abad de San Zuyl.

¹⁴⁶ **ORTÍZ DE MONTALBÁN, Gonzalo** (1950-1974). Registro general del sello (1454-1495); ed. rev. y aum. por María Asunción de Mendoza Lassalle; introducción de Miguel Bordonau y Mas. 12 Volúmenes. Valladolid: Archivo de Simancas, 1950-1974. Volume VIII, p. 336, N°. 2273. Cited by M. Carrión (1978). Gómez Manrique y el protonotario Lucena. Dos cartas con memoria de Jorge Manrique. In: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, Volumen 81, N°. 3, (pp. 565 – 582), p. 569.

¹⁴⁷ **AGS**, Registro General del Sello, IX-1492, fol. 276. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 259.

¹⁴⁸ **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012) De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, pp. 91-92

Don Fernando e doña Ysabel etc por quanto / vos el rreuerendo señor
Protonotario don Iohan Ra- / mires de Luçena del nuestro Consejo nuestro
capellan e abad / de la yglesia colegial de la villa de Couasrrruvias / nos
fisystes rrelaçion que por muchas enferme- / dades e ocupaciones de
vuestra persona non podedes / bien asy como deuedes rresydir en la dicha
abadia / para la rregir e gobernar e que por / descargo de vuestra conçeñcia
queriades permutarla / con alguna buena persona honesta e habile que
mejor / que vos pudiese rresydir e rregir la dicha / abadía o rresygnarla
synplemente e / que por ser como es aquella de nuestro patronadgo non / lo
podedes faser sin nuestra liçeñcia e autoridad / e nos suplicastes e pedistes
por merced / que vos mandasemos dar la dicha liçeñcia o como / la nuestra
merced fuese e nos veyendo vuestra legitima / cabsa e por vos faser bien e
merçed tovimos- / lo por bien e por ende por la presente como pa- / trones
de la dicha abadía vos damos liçeñcia / e autoridad para que podades
rresygnar la / (fol.2:) dicha abadía synplemente o ex causa permuta nomes /
con Luys Hurtado de Mendoça abad de Sant / Zuyl de Carrion el qual es
persona habile e su- / fiçiente por otros benefiços e prestamos o / pensiones
asy en la dicha / abadía como en otros qualesquier / benefiços o en otra
qualquier / manera que segund Dios e buena / conçeñcia lugar aya e nos /
por la presente suplicamos al muy santo / padre e rrogamos al rreuerendo in
Christo padre obispo / de Burgos en cuya dioçesy es la dicha abadía que /
rresçiban de vos la dicha permutaçion o rre- / signaçion e asy rresçibidas
prouean e fagan / colaçion e canonica ynstituçion al dicho Luys / Hurtado
al qual sy menester es nos desde agora / para entonçes presentamos como
patrones de la / dicha abadía bien asy como sy por nos les fuese /
presentada e asy proueydo le fagan / rresçibir a la posesion de la dicha
abadía e le / fagan acudir e rresponder con todas las hon- / rras e
preheminençias e rrentas e frutos e molumen- / tos e otras cosas a la dicha
abadía deuidas e / pertenesçientes e no le consyentan poner en ello /
ynpedimento alguno de lo qual vos mandamos dar / esta nuestra carta
firmada de nuestros nonbres e sellada con / nuestro sello. Dada en la çibdad
de Çaragoça / a veynte dias del mes de setienbre año / del nascimiento de
nuestro salvador Ihesu Christo / de mill e quatrocientos e noventa e dos
años. Yo el Rey yo la Reyna yo Fernand Alvares de Toledo secretario del
Rey e la Reyna nuestros señores la fise escrivir por su mandado.

Another document in a document from 1493 which we have not yet
posted¹⁴⁹ shows that Fernando Lucena is the brother of protonotary

¹⁴⁹

This document does not appear on: **VALLE DE RICOTE, Gofredo**
(2006). The three authors of the Celestina: the converted Jewish Juan Ramírez de
Lucena, his sons Fernando de Rojas (Lucena), and Juan del Encina, (also known as

Juan Ramírez de Lucena. It is a document about the Covarrubias Abbey, Santa Leocadia Abbey, and Carrión de los Condes Abbey¹⁵⁰ where Don Luís Hurtado de Mendoza succeeded the apostolic protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena, someone with ample wealth in the city of Soria. The partial translated description is as follows:

Aranda de Duero, 3 June 1493

Don Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, abbot of Santa Leocadia in Toledo agrees to provide an annual pension of 110.000 Dons. income taxes on Covarrubias Abbey, Santa Leocadia Abbey, and Carrión de los Condes Abbey to the apostolic protonotary Don Juan Ramírez de Lucena¹⁵¹ by doing this the resignation of the Covarrubias Abbey on his favour with consent from the Pope, bishop of Burgos, and the Monarchs; is obliged to bring the Bulls needed to fulfil the commitment and vacate the Abbey in case he is unable to provide the bulls for which he awards full power to Fernando de Lucena. In return D. Juan Ramírez promises to accept the Abbey if Don Luis Hurtado resigned before fulfilling three years since this date, forgiving pension and rents, but demanding to take the royal provision and collation of the bishop of Burgos on his own.

Witnesses: Íñigo de Mendoza, lord of Rello, Martín Fernández de Espinosa, archpriest, resident of Aranda de Duero y Flórez, Don Luis Hurtado's servant and resident of Carrión.

Collegial Archive from Covarrubias., Legacy X, Nº 17, original on paper, Court Script. With the handwritten signatures of “Luys Hurtado” and “Johannes protonotarius”.

Thanks to the many years of Jerónimo Miguel Briongos's research we can also present the full document¹⁵²:

Bartolomé Torres Naharro and Francisco Delicado). Volume I. Biography, study, and document the ancient author of the *Celestina*, the chess player Juan de Lucena.

¹⁵⁰ **BENEDICTINES IN SPAIN (Silos).** (1907). Sources for Castilla's History. G. del Amo, Madrid, pp. 371 y LXXXVII.

¹⁵¹ The pay had to be done in Soria in the houses of Juan Ramírez de Lucena on San Juan's Day and Christmas Day.

¹⁵² **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012) *De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I*, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, pp. 97-98

In Dei nomine amen. Sepan todos los que este presente ynstrumento veran commo yo / don Luys Hurtado de Mendoça abad de Santa Leocadia en la yglesia de Toledo / conosco que por quanto vos el rreuerendo sennor protonotario don Juan Ramires de / Luçena abad de Couasrruuias de la dioçesis de Burgos days poder para rre-/ signar synpliciçter en mi fauor la dicha vuestra abadía de Couasrruuias / en manos del nuestro muy santo padre o del muy rreuerndo sennor obispo de Burgos / en cuya dioçesis es la dicha vuestra abadía con liçençia e consentimiento del Rey e / Reyna nuestros sennores patrones de la dicha abadía / con tanto que expresamente / quesistes e quereys que yo consyenta e procure e suplique al dicho nuestro muy santo / padre que vos asygne pensiones de ciento e dies mill maravedies en cada vn anno / para en toda vuestra vida pagadas por mi el dicho don Luys Hurtado e por mis / subçesores en la çibdad de Soria en vuestra casa la meytad al dia de Sant / Juan de junio e la otra meytad al dia de navidad de cada vn anno para en toda vuestra vida / es a saber sobre los frutos de la dicha abadía de Couasrruuias veynte e / cinco mill marevedies e sobre la dicha mi abadía de Santa Leocadia quinse / mill maravedies e sobre el abadía de Sant Zuyl de Carrion que es en la diocesis de / Palençia de la orden de cluniçensies la qual dicha abadía yo tengo e / poseo en cometida çinquenta mill maravedies e en el abadía de Santa Crus / de la orden de premostrensens que es en la dicha dioçesis de Palençia la qual asy / mismo yo tengo e poseo en comenda veynte mill maravedies que son por todos / los dichos ciento e dies mill maravedies e por ende yo por la presente vos / prometo e me vos obligo que consentire por mi o por mi procurador en las / dichas pensiones sobre las dichas abadias y repartidas en la manera sobre-/ dicha e que procurare e suplicare al dicho nuestro muy santo padre las mande / asygnar e sennalar commo dicho es en los lugares e a los tienpos susodichos / para en toda vuestra vida pagadas por mi e por los lugares e a los tienpos susodichos / para en toda vuestra vida pagadas por mi e por los dichos mis subçesores / e vos dare las bullas en vuestro poder desennpachadas de todo desennpacho por / todo el mes de dizienbre deste presente anno de la fecha de este ynstrumento / a mis propias costas e expensas por quanto conosco aver rresçebido / de vos el dicho protonotario treynta ducados para la dicha expedicion de las dichas / bullas pero en caso que se ouiere de pagar media anata que la dicha me-/ dia anata se pague de por medio pues que esto se fase por gracia de ambos / e asy se pague por ambos e la parte que vos cupiere a pagar a vos el dicho protonotario / de la dicha media anata que lo yo pueda tomar e descontar la meytad de ello [fol. 1v.] de la pension de navidad del anno venidero de noventa e quatro e la otra meytad / de la pension de nauidad del anno seguinte de noventa e cinco annos e / en caso que non vos entregue al dicho tienpo las dichas bullas o en caso quel dicho / nuestro muy santo padre no quisiese mandar asygnarvos las dichas pensiones / yo por la presente vos prometo e juro a

Dios e a Santa Maria e a esta sennal / de crus [cruz] que corporalmente con mi mano derecha tengo so pena de perjuro / de rresygnar en vuestro fauor e vos tornar la dicha vuestra abadía de Couas-/ rruuias e en tal caso yo por la presente desde agora doy poder a Fernando / de Lucena vuestro hermano para la rresygnar en manos del dicho sermor obispo e suplico / desde agora en el dicho tal caso a los dichos Rey e Reyna nuestros sennores que vos / manden proueer de la dicha abadía e otrosy vos prometo e juro a Dios e / a Santa Maria e a esta sennal de crus [cruz] que con mi mano derecha tango so pena / de perjuro que llanamente syn pleito e syn rrebuelta vos pagare las / dichas pensiones en la dicha çibdad de Soria en la dicha vuestra casa al termino / susodicho para en toda vuestra vida en cada vn anno que sera la primera paga este / dicho presente anno e dende en adelante en cada vn anno e sy acaesçiere / que yo rresignase o permutase alguna de las dichas mis abadias vos prometo / e me vos obligo e vos juro asymismo de yo yntimar las dichas bullas / a mis propias expensas a los que subçedieren en las dichas abadias o en alguna / de ellas para lo qual todo que dicho es e para cada cosa e parte dello vos obligo

/ a mi e a mis bienes espirituales e temporales e juro otrosy de no pedir absoluçion / nin rrelaxaçion del dicho juramento al nuestro muy santo padre nin a otra persona que para/ ello juridiçion tenga e en caso que moytu propio me sea otorgado que non vsare / del en fe de lo qual este dicho presente ynstrumento otorgue ante el notario / apostolico e testigos yuso escriptos al qual dicho notario rruego que vos de / sygnado cada cosa por su parte segund que ge lo vos pidierdes que fue / fecho e otorgado en la villa de Aranda de Duero de la diocesis de Oxma a tres dias / del mes de junio anno del nasçimiento del Nuestro Saluador Ieshu Christo de mill e / quatroçientos e noventa e tres annos de esto son testigos que estavan presentes rrogados e llama-/ dos para lo que dicho es Ynego de Mendoça sennor de [intercalada firma: Luys Hurtado] Rello e Martin Ferrandes de Espinosa arçepreste vecino de la dicha villa de Aranda e Flores criado del sennor don Luis Hurtado / vecino de la villa de Carrion.

Et yo Nunno Gonçales Pilo de la dioçesi de Osma notario publico por a [sic] la avtorridad apostolica a mi otorgada que / fuy presente a todo lo que dicho es en vno con los dichos testigos e por rruego e otorgamiento del dicho sennor don Luis / Hurtado e del protonotario don Juan Ramires de Luçena este ynstrumento e conbenençia fys escrebir e / por ende fys aqui este mio sygno en testimonio de verdad [firma:] Nunno Gonçales Pilo notario.

[Signo, leyenda y nombre:] Vyritas Vençiti. Nunno Gonçales Pilo

[Fo]. 2r.] E yo el dicho protonotario don Juan Ramires de Luçena prometo e juro a Dios e a Santa Maria / e a esta sennal de crus [cruz] que

corporalmente que corporalmente [sic] con mi mano / derecha tango que si pasados tres annos vos el dicho sennor don Luys Hurtado / fuerdes contento de me dejar la dicha abadía de Couasrruuias que yo / la tomare e me contentare con ella e vos rrelaxare e librare de las / dichas pensiones con tanto que la dicha abadía aya seydo por vos en los dichos tres arnos bien granjeada e bien procurada e me dedes la collaçion / de ella fecha con licençia e consentimiento del Rey e Reyna nuestros sennores / segund vos la yo agora doy librada e sellada e otrosy juro e prometo / que todos tienpos que vos me dierdes prestamos buenos e sanos en la suma / que valiere vos rredimire otro tanto valor de las dichas pensiones e de / cada vna de ellas sobre lo qual otorgue ynstrumento ante el sobredicho / notario e testigos [intercalada firma:] Joao Prothonotarius / que estavan presentes rrogados e llamados / a todo lo que dicho es el sennor Ynego de Mendoca sennor de Rello / et Martin Ferrandes de Espinosa arcipreste vesino de la villa de Aranda / de Duero e Flores vesino de la villa de Carrion criado del sennor don Luys Hurtado.

Et yo Nunno Gonçales Pilo de la diocesis de Osma notario publico por la avtoridad / apostolica a mi otorgada que fuy presente a todo lo que dicho es en vno con / los dichos testigos et por rruego e otorgamiento del dicho sennor protonotario don / Juan Ramirez de Luçena susodicho este ynstrumento fiz escrebir et por / ende fys aqui este mio sygno en testimonio de verdad. [Firma:] Nunno Gonçales Pelo notario. [Signo, leyenda y nombre:] Viritas Vençiti. Nunno Gonçales Pilo.

[Fol. 2v.] Escritura del abbadia / Renunciacion del Abbad / Lucena en Don Luis Hurtado / de Mendoza.

Even while having had in the protonotary a loyal server in the hardest moments of their political trajectory, the Catholic Monarchs did not show great enthusiasm at the time of requesting their service once they had consolidated in the throne. And although they did not stop rewarding the services offered through the concession of privileges for life¹⁵³, they did not hesitate to get rid of him when as a

¹⁵³ AGS, M. y P. Leg. 98, folios 39-42; also AGS, RGS, VIII-1491, fol. 308. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. 249-272. Citation in p. 265.

result of his polemic with the cannon Alfonso Ortiz his position became more precarious¹⁵⁴. We think in this sense that his opinions did not fit in the frame of the actions of the Holy Inquisition. The queen, who wanted to see only one religion in Spain, could not agree with the open stance of her protonotary against the Inquisition. The peculiar result is that even though the book of *Vita Beata* by Juan Ramírez de Lucena was printed twice in the fifteenth century, neither his book nor the books *Repetición de amores* and *Arte de ajedrez* (*Repetition of Loves* and *Art of Chess*) by his son are in the inventory of the library of the Queen Isabella I. It is known that her library formed a great part of contemporary books, especially of writers of her court¹⁵⁵.

When Fernando the Catholic, after Navarra being conquered in 1512, sees such unjust acquisition, he commends Palacios Rubios¹⁵⁶ to write a book defending the legality of the fortunated enterprise. Something like that could also have happened with Alonso Ortiz, who had the green light from the Kings to write a book against the liberal opinions of Juan de Lucena.

Analyzing the situation of the Lucenas described above we see that Juan Ramírez de Lucena was in 1470 a political collaborator of the future Monarchs, of first hand; and that his brother Carlos, since very young, was a servant to cardinal Mendoza during the reign of Enrique IV as well as during the reign of his successors the Catholic Kings. According to the own declarations of Carlos de Lucena that took place in 1518 when he was around 65 years of age, it was

¹⁵⁴ **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. 249-272.

¹⁵⁵ **CLEMENCÍN, D.** (1821). Elogio de la Reina Católica Doña Isabel, Madrid, I. Sancho, Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia, Volume VI, pp. 408 – 424. Cited by **ALCALA, ANGEL** (1968). Juan de Lucena y el Pre-erasmismo español. Revista Hispánica Moderna. Revista Hispánica Moderna, pp. 108 – 131, Citation in p. 113.

¹⁵⁶ **BULLÓN Y FERNÁNDEZ, ELOY** (1927). Un colaborador de los Reyes Católicos: el doctor Palacios Rubios y sus obras, Madrid, p. 8.

confirmed that he was a servant of the cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, and that for that reason he spent a lot of time in the court until Queen Isabella¹⁵⁷ died in 1503. The cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza passed away on January 11 1495, so the Lucena clan could no longer count on the help of this great character of Spanish history. It was the same Carlos de Lucena who was a judge, executor of the debts of the Cardinal of Spain¹⁵⁸.

On the other hand we have seen that Fernando de Lucena, brother of Juan Ramírez de Lucena¹⁵⁹, was also a protonotary and named Royal Counselor¹⁶⁰. He was representative of Maximiliano de Austria, Duke of Borgoña, and in July of 1478 the Kings named him ambassador in front of the dukes of Borgoña¹⁶¹.

¹⁵⁷ Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid, Pleitos Civiles. Z. y Walls (Zarandona y Walls) Fenecidos Caja 303-1 y ss. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO (1993)**. El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. 249-272. Citation in p. 260.

¹⁵⁸ AGS, Registro General del Sello, I-1498, fol. 196; AGS, Registro General del Sillo, III-1498, folio 104; AGS, Registro General del Sello, VI-1498, folio 34. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO (1993)**. El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. 249-272. Citation in p. 260.

¹⁵⁹ **AGS, RGS, folio 66, a 27 de diciembre de 1479**. Cited by Carlos Carrete Parrondo (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, 168 – 179.

¹⁶⁰ **AGS, RGS, folio 178**. Cited by Carlos Carrete Parrondo (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, 168 – 179.

¹⁶¹ **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS (1991)**. Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, 168 – 179.

Hence we see that Juan Ramírez de Lucena, father of the writer of the books of modern chess, had sufficient motives to continue asking favors of the King, because his position in the world, very rarefied by the inquisition, was not clear at all. In the near future his son who was studying in Salamanca could have the same problem.

The Protonotary after 1495

On March 20 1495 Juan Ramirez de Lucena, "being of the Council of the King and Queen, our lords," formalized before Pedro González de Rueda, the clerk of Soria, the commitment to deliver hundred thousand maravedies to his nephew Christopher Ramirez, the son of his brother Diego Ramirez, santiaguista commander and governor of Toledo. The protonotary had promised him this when his marriage to Mari Gonzalez Hisana was concluded in order to buy lands for marriage¹⁶².

Francisco de Rojas was the ambassador of the Catholic Monarchs in Flanders in 1494 and Fernando de Lucena soon joined him as ambassador. The merchants of Burgos Juan and Alonso de Salamanca provided money to Fernando de Lucena¹⁶³ according to Suárez Fernández. However we believe that the merchants provided

¹⁶² ARChV, P. C., Moreno, F., C. 1252-3 Cf. **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012) *De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz*, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, p. XCIII

¹⁶³ **TORRE, Antonio de la** (1949). *Documentos sobre relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos*, Barcelona, 1949, Volume V, pp. 113, 350.

SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis (1965-1972) *International Policy of Isabella the Catholic: Studies and Documents*. Valladolid. Institute "Isabella the Catholic" of Ecclesiastical History. Volume II, p. 146.

Quoted by **FAGEL, Raymund Paulus**. (1996) *From Hispano-Vlaamse wereld. De contacten tussen Spanjaarden en Nederlanders 1496-1555*. PhD Thesis in Catholic University of Nijmegen. Brussels, p. 295.

money to the protonotary Juan de Lucena and not to his brother Fernando. His brother Fernando de Lucena was married and was not protonotary. Such documents of 1495 and 1496 speak about Protonotary Lucena and never Fernando de Lucena, and if so would relate between 1470 and 1480 when the protonotary Juan de Lucena was in Flanders. We are going to provide two documents in which we observed that in 1496 those merchants had died. So they must refer to years in the distant past.

30-VII-1495. Burgos 3616, 246v. – 247

Fernando ordered general treasurer to pay John and Alonso de Salamanca, merchants, residents of Burgos, two hundred doblas given by them in Flanders to the Ambassador protonotary of Lucena.

... We demand thee to ... provide and pay for real and in fact to our beloved Johan de Salamanca and Alonso de Salamanca, merchants, residents of this City of Burgos, Castile two hundred Castilian doblas, brave seventy-three thousand maravedís - currency of our Kingdom of Castile; which we demand and send you to be given and paid in satisfaction and pay of such a quantity to those for my prayer and service, given in Flanders to bishop protonotary of Lucena from our Council which we had sent there by our ambassador; apparently by a certificate of knowledge signed with our name with which we promised to pay the quantity back ... without demanding any proof of the certificate, or any other writing, so we have torn the certificate apart and prohibited anyone who benefited from it in our Court at once ...

Dominus rex mandavit michi Ludouico Gonçales; visa per Bonet, pro generali consuetore.

30-X-1496. Burgos 3574, 162

Don Fernando ordered the general treasurer to pay to the widows and heirs of Juan and Alonso de Salamanca two hundred Castilian doblas given in Flanders to the ambassador protonotary of Lucena without asking for any proof, as the monarch tore the certificate of knowledge.

In light of the present surely and expressly we demand thee to ... provide and pay for real and in fact Beatriz Lopez de Polanco, now deceased woman of Johan de Salamanca's, and Ysabel de Maluenda, woman of Alonso de Salamanca's, deceased, and also the heirs of their husbands and guardians of their children, two hundred Castilian doblas, brave seventy-three thousand maravedís - currency of our Kingdom of Castil which we

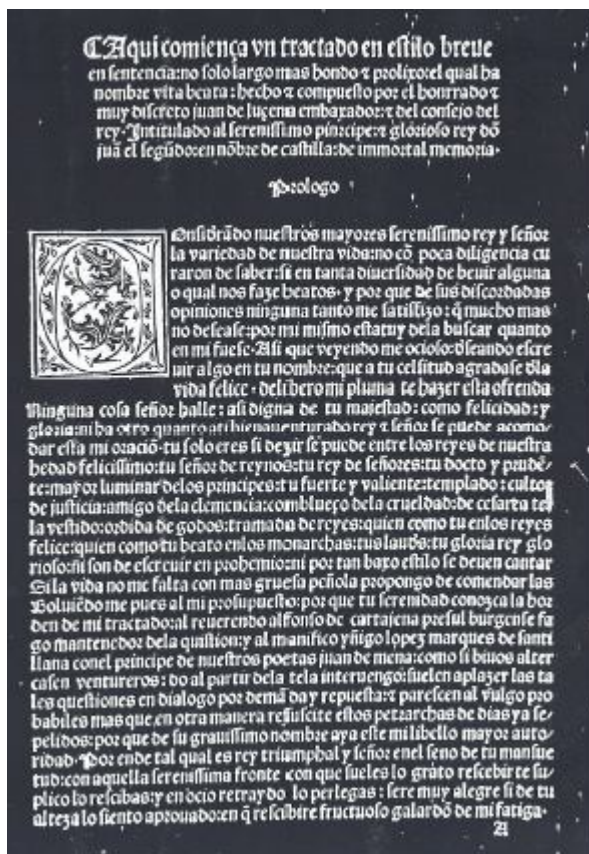
The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena

demand and send you to be given and paid in satisfaction and pay of such a quantity to those whose husbands for my prayer and service given in Flanders to bishop protonotary of Lucena from our Council which we had sent there by our ambassador; according to a certificate of knowledge signed with our name, with which we promised to pay the quantity back; which we have torn apart. And so ... we command you receive without demanding refund or certificate of knowledge or any other writings, as we have torn the certificate apart and prohibited anyone who benefited from it in our Court at once ...

Ludovico Gonçales; visa per Bonet, pro generali conseruyatore.

The edition of *Vita Beata* Burgos (1499) by the printer Juan de Burgos was bundled with the work of *Los doce trabajos de Hércules* by Enrique Villena.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena



Book of 1499 of the Pierpont Morgan Library. Sign.: 1752.
(Courtesy of Dr. Jerónimo Miguel Briongos)

In those years Lucena, the son of the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena, was rather active in Salamanca with the impression of various books.

Juan de Ramírez Lucena, an early political collaborator of the Catholic Kings since 1470, seemed to continue working for them even though they would eventually send him home to Soria to rest because of his age and invalidity. Around 1500 the prothonotary

figured among the people who received money from the Kings¹⁶⁴, but in the book that Carrete Parrondo gives as reference we see only the mention of protonotary Lucena, and this person could also be the then apostolic protonotary Fernando de Lucena. The text in question to which Carrete Parrondo refers is¹⁶⁵:

Page. 512 – (Tender XIX). Relations of people who had to have had maravedis (Spanish coin of the time) – without year. They are Catalina González, D.^a Elvira Manuel, García Ferrández Manrique. Pero Niño, Protonotary of Lucena, Gómez, silversmith, and Luis de Guadalajara, Beatriz Cuello, Diego de León, Juan de Luján, Diego de Anaya, Pero Manrique, and Nicolao de Nero.

In 1501 the protonotary made testament to and named as universal heir his nephew Juan Ramírez de Lucena, the son of his brother Alfonso who lived in Madrid. The testament was granted in Soria before the public notary Sancho de Morales on September 10 1501 declaring Juan Ramírez de Lucena who was 70 years of age. The protonotary named as his universal her his nephew Juan Ramírez de Lucena, the first-born son of his brother Alfonso de Madrid.

Additionally he decreed that in his grave his weapons be carved “in memory”. He does not mention his children, perhaps moved by his

¹⁶⁴ **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, 168 – 179. Citation in p. 175. This matter is carefully explained with full details by **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2014). Juan de Lucena. *Diálogo sobre la vida feliz. Espístola exhortatoria a las letras*. Real Academia Española, Madrid, p. 49.

¹⁶⁵ AGS, Casa Real, Escribanía Mayor, leg. 46, folio 512 (pliego XIX). Tal como viene en el libro de Amalia Prieto Cantero (1969). *Casa y descargos de los Reyes Católicos*, p. 516. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, 168 – 179. Citation in p. 175.

clerical status which did not permit having legitimate children¹⁶⁶. He insisted in his last wishes to solicit his brothers, nephews, family members, and servants¹⁶⁷:

«to not do or celebrate our funeral neither with cries nor mournings, nor with mournful clothes because they always seemed more like courteous ceremonies than Christian ones, but we plead that you help us with prayers and alms and with sacrifices if well seen by my executors and inheritors»

10 September 1501, Soria Protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena's Will

In the name of God, the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit, the one and only Trinity You should be aware that I, doctor Don Juan Remires de Lucena, legitimate son of Juan Remires de Lucena and Catherine Ramires his legitimate wife, by the Holy Glory a resident of the noble city of Soria, protonotary of the Holy See Apostolical of the Council of the King and the Queen don Fernando and Donna Ysabel- glorious Monarchs of Granada who took over from the Moorish, considering that the most certain thing that we have is death and the most uncertain is the time it will come and that every Christian should prepare for when with no other warning He will call us and therefore we shall call thee doctor Don Juan Remires de Lucena in good health and healthy body and encourage understanding of his free will neither substituted for the aforementioned we agree and deliberate that if he perishes to the Divine; Mercy of changing and amending our lives and therefore the world; we have accepted that all we can do is to surrender it to Him who gave it to us - Our Lord Jesus Christ and with Him we shall provide our encouraged Him to represent the merciful hands of His Blessed Mother Our Madam and our lawyer Virgin Mary, Queen of the angels and the archangel San Miguel and the Evangelist apostolic San Juan our lawyers when repeated it when it is convenient for them to dispose of the mundane goods which we hereby command and establish this our last will /

¹⁶⁶ CADENA, RAMÓN LACADENA Y BRUALLA, Marqués de la (1942). El gran cardenal de España: (don Pedro González de Mendoza), pp. 25-30.

¹⁶⁷ DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico. Nuevos datos sobre su biografía, Sefarad, Volume 53, Nº. 2, pp. 249-272. Citation in pp. 254 y 257. The testament is in the *Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid*, Pleitos Civiles. La Puerta, Fenecidos Caja 352-1.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
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and testament thus the princess of virtues justice demands us to give and each of us gives their own to God first of all and thanks him for having raised us men and healthy and having brought us to this vast age of seventy years where we are almost with many honours beyond our merit and for us to have regenerated in grace with water of the holy baptism and for having us confirmed in this His Holy Catholic faith we can prevaricate and sign on it (page 2) and not lift from us His mercy forever us to surrender and from now on this our soul which is His and put it in this prison where it currently is, save it and take it when He please restoring what is His to the earth when this our body died to be buried in the Holy Church take from this city in a new burial and by the grave of our father to be called on the ground with our weapons for the memory which is our memory that such grave and beyond of the ten thousand maravedis we gave to support the new roof of said church, sending two chasubles soulish brocade and of cramesy and the organs with the condition to be let one day of every week of playing a sung prayer about the burial of our father and we want and beg our brothers and nephews and relatives and servants not to celebrate our remembrances with cries, nor with mourning, nor with mournful clothes, because we always percieved them as gentler ceremonies rather than Christian, but we beg them to help us with prayers, with alms and with sacrifices according to the will of my executors and heirs and others we send each of them five maravedis to the Holy Orders of the Trinity and the merciful work of Santa Maria de Osma and to other orders accustomed we demand that our book is displayed and if something we were in charge of our servants to pay and all those want our furniture and other goods and houses silver silver and gold and we leave money and establish to our legitimate heir Juan Remires de Luçena, our legitimate nephew-son, firstborn son of Alonso de Luçena our brother and ours from now on by this means we make our executors of this testament to Hernando de Luçena and Alonso Luçena and our brothers to whom we beg to accept execution of this will. (page 3)

testament and for it to be fully put into effect, for which we give authority and sufficient power and hereby provide them with all our goods and give power that by themselves and with no other license from a judge all goods be transferred and possessed for execution to be carried on hereby we revoke and nullify any other testaments and last wills which we may have formerly established and and it is our will that this document we now write is stable and permanent. Furthermore the King and Queen our monarchs apart from very good and loyal services we have provided with our spirit we are given more than ten thousand doblas from salaries and theft which by sea and land under your service we were given by the French and Sterlings of which debt we were only given by command of their Highnesses in satisfaction two hundred thousand maravedis which we

actually would not have received except when in urgent need expecting ample mercy we beg their Majesties and their holy conscience we require since when alive it did not please you to command our alms to be satisfied command them to be satisfied in death so as to we can alleviate from some things we are to pay for and want this our will to be confirmed with our death and to be valid as testament and if it were not to be valid as such to be valid as codicil or last will or be valid in any other way it can do best with faith and firmness of everything aforesaid this testament letter we signed with our names and give to the honourable Sancho Morales notary public from this city of Soria and the witnesses below mentioned and beg him to make of this our testament one two or three more instruments and as many times whoever may want it to request it and it will be signed (Page 4) and the signature was made and granted in the city of Soria on the tenth day of September of the birth of Our Saviour Jesus Christ of one thousand five hundred and one years that they were present and heard the grant of this testament and in the way which is contained in it and sign here with his name to the Mister Protonotarius Juan Gonçales of Burgos chaplain cleric of Mister Protonotarius Juan Miguel of Tolosa and Juancho and Pero Gonçales and Juan del Atalaya and Bartolome de la Poveda and Diego Delgadillo servants of of Mister Protonotarius. And I Sancho Morales notary public from the city of Soria aforesaid I was in presence of one of the witnesses when Mister Protonotarius granted this testament in which is contained and signed with his name and of his request and grant I received it and made it written on a sheet of paper on both sides and in the plan where goes my signature and after each one goes one of the rubrics of my name and therefore I made here this certified true testimony.

Sancho Morales.

More goes at the end of the first sheet on the other side at the end of the line and between this in the lower margin written between lines¹⁶⁸.

The document brings to light other details too: apart from the title of the pronotary, of the charge he performed as counselor of the Kings and the name of his parents, Juan de Lucena seems to remember his condition of convert when giving thanks to God for «having regenerated us in His grace with the water of the holy baptism and

¹⁶⁸ With my thanks to Jerónimo Miguel Briongos who was so kind to supply me the complete Testament already in 2005. This testament also figures in: **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012). *De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona*, p. XXIII and pp. 99-105.

for having confirmed us in his holy Catholic faith». It also tells us that his Majesties would indebt to him certain quantities as payment for his services as ambassador in royalties that we was waiting to receive, at least once dead, to relieve the charges that weighted over his economy. It could also seem peculiar that he names Juan Ramírez de Lucena, his nephew, as inheritor, but it is not as peculiar if we consider that the protonotary had (as far as we know) a daughter and two sons: one that died soon after birth and the other Lucena (not Luis de Lucena, the renowned doctor and humanist, native of Guadalajara who died in Rome in 1552 and whom he has been confused with on several occasions), the author of the *Repetición de amores* and of *Arte de ajedrez*.

He also expresses his wish to be buried in the church of Santo Tomé (currently Santo Domingo) beside the grave of his father. It's worth noting that he does not mention the tomb of his mother when in 1485, in some funeral rites that he orders to be done every year in memoir of his parents he alludes to both being buried in that church of Santo Tomé. I think that we should not discard the possibility that due to the investigations that the Inquisition made after 1490 against the mother of the protonotary, and in which she was accused of judaizer and condemned as heretic, the Holy Tribunal ordered that her bones be burned in absence, as used to be done in these cases, that her remains not be in such place. Another element that can corroborate this fact is the relation of scapulars who were behind the choir in the church of San Pedro of Soria during the XVI century among whom figured the one of Catalina Ramírez.

It is known that he had a daughter (whose name we have not been able to locate) who married Gonzalo Gil de Miranda. According to the personal findings of the investigator Diago Hernández¹⁶⁹ the daughter is called Catalina. The documentation consulted by Diago Hernando [Hernando or Hernandez? The Spanish text also shows this discrepancy. Correct as appropriate] does not state that the

¹⁶⁹ Courtesy of Máximo Diago Hernández, el día 18 de marzo de 2004.

protonotary had any recognized sons and, as he says himself, it looks improbable that he did if we consider that he named his nephew Juan Ramírez de Lucena as universal inheritor.

From the investigations we know that he did have sons, but because of problems with the inquisition he did not want to harm them and thus they do not appear in his testament.

Since the first moment of the marriage the relationship between Gonzalo Gil de Miranda and the daughter of the protonotary went badly and the husband, who married with the motive to obtain a dowry¹⁷⁰ of 300,000 maravedis, would not stop insulting her, calling her «wicked, judaizer, Jew, son of a Jew and, your Jewish family». We do not know the date, but it must have been after the death of the protonotary when the husband killed the daughter of Juan Ramírez de Lucena. At the time, because of the anticonvert prejudices, Miranda's crime remained unpunished. In those days the converts did not have it easy and the best option was to live inadvertently. Maybe for that reason the siblings of the protonotary lived in different places, such as Madrid, Toledo, and Alcalá de Henares¹⁷¹.

Juan Ramírez de Lucena, the apostolic protonotary and clergyman, could not be legally married, but it was frequent practice to have mistresses and children. That was also the case of our protonotary who had at least two illegal children. We have already indicated that the daughter Catalina was married to Gonzalo Gil de Miranda until the husband killed her. According to declarations from witnesses Gonzalo Gil de Miranda continually abused his wife, calling her “wicked, judaizer, Jew, son of a Jew, and your Jewish family”, all

¹⁷⁰ **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico. Nuevos datos sobre su biografía, Sefarad, Volume 53, Nº. 2, pp. 249-272. Citation in p. 267. See also: Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid, Pleitos Civiles. La Puerta, Fenecidos Caja 352-1

¹⁷¹ **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico. Nuevos datos sobre su biografía, Sefarad, Volume 53, Nº. 2, pp. 249-272.

this because of anticonverts prejudices¹⁷². It seems that the life of a woman was worth little in those times, because this character was quickly rehabilitated and became one of the two attorneys¹⁷³ sent by the city of Soria to the Cortes of Valladolid in 1518.

The other son is our author of the book of chess¹⁷⁴ of 1497, cited only as Lucena in the book of 1497, in spite of the fact that more than one author has called him Luis. Bartolomé José Gallardo called him Luis de Lucena in 1888 and since that date everybody copied him¹⁷⁵. On the other hand, Cossio tells us in his prologue that the Duke of Medinaceli named Jerónimo, the son of Juan, councilor of the Port of Santa María as payment for the good services of Jerónimo. Today we know through research that Jerónimo was not a son of Juan Ramírez de Lucena. According to the same Cossio the protonotary died in 1506¹⁷⁶. It was during this period of his life that the Inquisition was most active in capturing declarations from witnesses, who denounced both him and his mother for the realization of judaizer practices. In 1501 a neighbor of Burgos who had served the protonotary as a servant for over 10 years betrayed and accused him and his mother of saying Jewish prayers in Hebrew in presence of their servants¹⁷⁷. Juan de Lucena, according to

¹⁷² **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1992). Judíos y judeoconversos en Soria en el siglo XV. Celtiberia, Volumen 43, Nº. 84, pp. 225-253.

¹⁷³ **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico. Nuevos datos sobre su biografía, Sefarad, Volume 53, Nº. 2, pp. 249-272. Citation in p. 268.

¹⁷⁴ **LUCENA** (1497) Repetición de amores y Arte de ajedrez.

¹⁷⁵ **GALLARDO, Bartolomé José** (1888). Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos, formada con los apuntamientos de B.J. Gallardo, coordinados y aumentados por M.R. Zarco del Valle y J. Sancho Rayón, Madrid: Imprenta y fundición de Manuel Tello, - 4 Volumes, Dict. Volume 3, col. 546-548, Nº 2829, 2830 and 2831.

¹⁷⁶ **LUCENA, LUIS DE** (1497) Repetición de amores y Arte de ajedrez (edición facsímil, introducción José María de Cossío). Madrid, 1953 (Joyas Bibliográficas).

¹⁷⁷ **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1985). Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae. II. El tribunal de la Inquisición en el obispado de Soria (1486 – 1502), Salamanca.

Ticknor¹⁷⁸, was one of the greatest writers of prose of the XV century.

During these years the Inquisition did not dare denounce the protonotary, but once dead it condemned him for heresy and fame of his mother, Catalina Ramírez, already deceased. On occasion of the sentence as heretic of Catalina Ramírez her possessions were confiscated, among them important estates and houses in the city of Soria, although later they must have been reinstated to her son Carlos de Lucena who claimed them in 1510 being settled in Alcalá. When Carlos died, the possessions would go to his son Gaspar, but he did not escape the Inquisition either, so his heritage once more ended in the hands of the Inquisition¹⁷⁹.

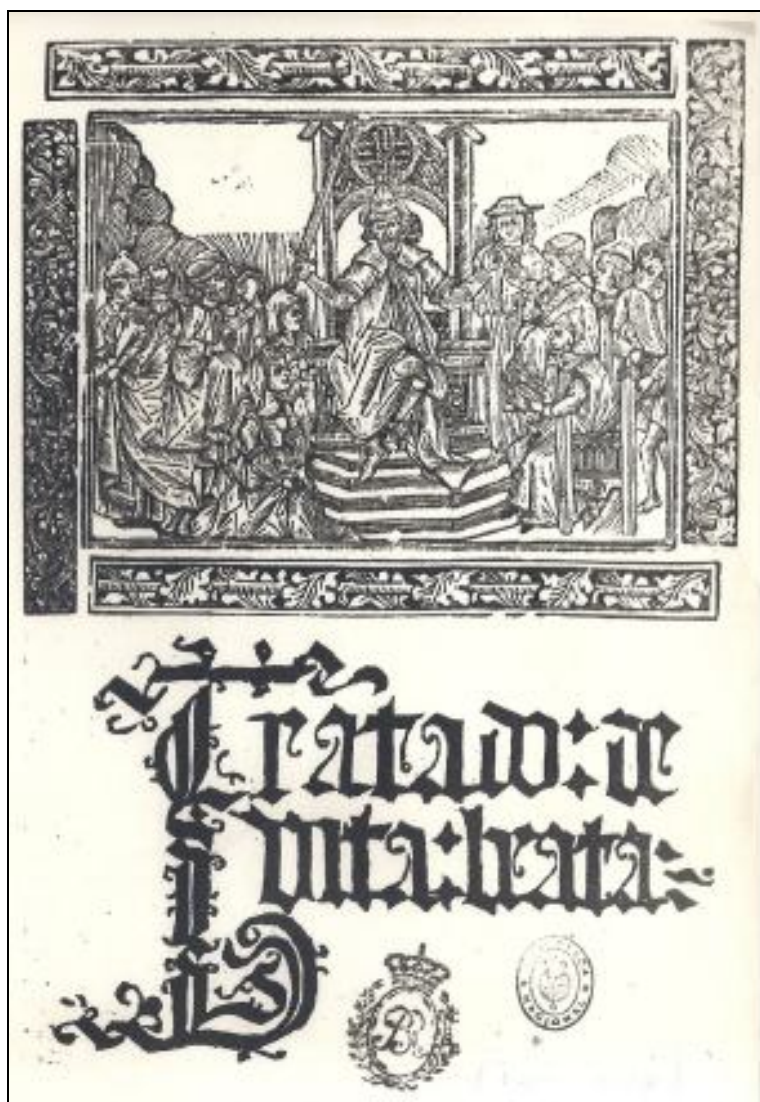
Another edition of *Vita Beata* Burgos (1502) by the printer Juan de Burgos was bundled with the work of *Los doce trabajos de Hércules* by Enrique Villena.

Probably Lucena, the son of the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena, was again involved with the impression of this book that belonged to his father.

¹⁷⁸ **TICKNOR, George** (1849). History of Spanish Literature. Harper and Brothers, p. 415.

¹⁷⁹ **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1992). Judios y judeoconversos en Soria en el siglo XV. Celtiberia, Volumen 43, N°. 84, pp. 225-253.

The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena,
the father of the chessbook writer Lucena



Ejemplar de la Biblioteca Nacional de España.
Sig.: R/3382 (1), I-919 (2) (*olim* I-752 (2)).
(Courtesy of Dr. Jerónimo Miguel Briongos)

Around the year 1503 the chief inquisitor of Zaragoza Hernando de Montemayor prosecuted Lucena, his brother Carlos, and his other relatives on suspicion of Judaism. Lucena wrote to the king complaining that the judge did not consider the exemption, and requested letters to the royal ambassador in Rome and the pope to "whatever be just, provide me and my brother with." He had reasons to feel uneasy about him and his brother Fernando de Lucena who was also a protonotary as we have seen in other documents, because another protonotary, Felipe Clemente¹⁸⁰, was also arrested by the Inquisition and sentenced in Seo of Zaragoza on July 30 1503.

Royalty had always protected the protonotary, but apparently this was over for whatever reason and the exemptions that Juan de Lucena had were not taken into account. Something similar happened with the apostolic canon Francisco Ortiz who left us a little autobiography¹⁸¹. This apostolic nuncio, Francisco Ortiz, very loyal to Pope Sixtus IV in 1479 wanted to establish a canonical act in Cuenca with the inauguration of a nephew of the pope who was a young man of 20 and had no ecclesiastical vocation.

Seeing that this act was against his religious policy reform of the episcopate the kings took prisoners to the dean and town hall of Cuenca, and later also Ortiz. Logically, Ortiz asserted the Pontifical pass that would protect him as apostolic nuncio, but neither the kings

¹⁸⁰ **COMBESCURE THIRY, Monique** (2003). El libro verde de Aragón. Introducción y transcripción Monique Combescure Thiry Presentación y estudio preliminar Miguel Ángel Motis Dolader. Zaragoza, pp. 92-93

¹⁸¹ **SAN ROMÁN, F. de** (1931). Autobiografía de Francisco Ortiz, in: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo, N°. 46-49, 87. A summary in **BELTRAN DE HEREDIA, V.** (1970). Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca, II Salamanca, pp. 175-192, cited by **GONZALVEZ RUIZ, Ramón** (1983-1984). Las bulas de la catedral de Toledo y la imprenta incunable castellana. In: Toletum, N° 18, pp. 11 – 180. Citation in p. 109.

nor the royal official hesitated for a moment in chase of the office¹⁸². With this simple fact we show that the kings on more than one occasion ignored the highest authority of the church when the person in question was in disgrace.

Watching the events of 1503 that continued to follow we also know the steps of King Ferdinand in the Courts of 1502 in Zaragoza, as Zurita does not speak of them. Don Fernando called together the Courts of Zaragoza for July 28 1502, and to June 28 from Toledo, with the main objective to swear in Doña Juana and her husband. The first letter of summons was for his son Don Alonso, perpetual administrator of the archdiocese of Zaragoza. Ricardo del Arco signals that from Seseña from July 19 the king extended the Courts until August 4, because he was unable to go to Zaragoza before then. Court was finally held on 16 and 24 August. The oath of the princes took place on October 24 before the King and juries of the city, and then returned to the council. The following year on April 2 1503 we see King Fernando in the council again, trying to obtain men armed for war with France. On April 4 the King was in Bujaraloz and appointed captains of the troops including his son, the Archbishop of Zaragoza, Don Alonso. In late 1503 King Ferdinand does not forget his son, Don Alonso de Aragón is sworn in as viceroy of Aragon before the deputies of the kingdom on 21 December 1503. The data of the privilege of the general lieutenancy of the archbishop is Monteagudo on December 11 where the King appointed his son as perpetual administrator of the archdiocese of Zaragoza¹⁸³.

¹⁸² **GONZALVEZ RUIZ, Ramón** (1983-1984). Las bulas de la catedral de Toledo y la imprenta incunable castellana. In: *Toletum*, N° 18, pp 11 – 180. Citation in pp. 109 – 110.

¹⁸³ **ARCO Y GARAY, Ricardo del** (1954). Cortes Aragonesas de los Reyes Católicos. En: *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 1954 – LX, pp. 77-103. Citation in pp. 90-94.

Returning to the letter¹⁸⁴ of the protonotary Juan de Lucena who wrote to the king, in this letter he requested preferential treatment for serving the king and defended the charges, claiming that they come from the Aragonese Jews, his enemies for having him participate in the expulsion of those who refused to convert. Lucena's letter follows¹⁸⁵:

**Letter from Juan de Lucena, advisor to Aragón, to king Fernando V,
written on 26 December 1503**

"Very high and mighty Prince, King, and Lord,
this inquisitor, after having caught my brother here, has been so closely imprisoned for such a long time that nothing else can be done.

It seems that everyone fell more for the force of law than for its degree. But I was not in it even though I was called for another day: these good businesses that I have have given me so much to do that I haven't been able to be involved in others. Truth is that they sent me to tell of certain letter that is received as V.A., so it seemed to me, except in one thing, that if V.A. wanted me to pass on what was done, it could not be done in any other way than the pope dispensed, in this case against the law. I say this to V.A. according to his advice, and because I certify that of those who have defended the Inquisition I have always been one. I have done so in favor of the faith and due to the service of V.A. Pray to our Lord that for him there be a reward, that if V.A. doesn't send it to fix and repair, I will say what they say in this kingdom: *to good service bad reward, according to the decrees of Aragón*. Our Lord keeps and grows the health and royal estate of V.A. at length to his service From Zaragoza to XXVI of December of DIII"

¹⁸⁴ **ALCALA, ANGEL** (1968). Juan de Lucena y el Pre-erasmismo español. Revista Hispánica Moderna. Revista Hispánica Moderna. (108 – 131), p. 119.

GIL NOVALES, A. (1967). Revista de Occidente, 1967-V (august, 1967), p. 253

MARAVALL, José Antonio (1966). Antiguos y modernos (La idea de progreso en el desarrollo inicial de una sociedad). – Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones. Madrid.

¹⁸⁵ **LLORENTE, Juan Antonio** (1980). Anales de la Inquisición de España, I, Madrid, pp. 289-294. Cited by **LAPESA, RAFAEL** (1982). De la edad media a nuestros días, p. 136 and by **CALVO, Ricardo** (1997). Lucena. La evasión en ajedrez del converso calisto, pp. 36-39.

"P.D. I will not stop saying to V.A. the admiration that in this city is having what is done to me and to my brother in parts where all is what V.A. commands; and seeing the quality and condition of ours, the reputation of Catholics and good Christians had our forefathers and have we, and seeing how servile we have been and are. Certainly Sir, in what they talk to me and importune me (because I see that they don't do it but to say bad things of me and of V.A.; of me for giving my services, of V.A. for not having memory of them) I tell you that V.A. with the zeal that he has of the faith, does not let up to anyone. With this answer I send them and they go satisfied. But with this answer V.A. will not comply with his servant, and so he would most certainly not comply with me. I don't say that to the heretic (as much as his servant would) as I would have to tolerate him in his heresy.

" Good God, spare me of such thing, for I dare to say to V.A. that those near to him and at his service (for it is true that they are in the opinion of good Christians) a different speech he must keep than with the others: it is good to know not to allow prison to those whom V.A. would not first allow the process and recognize the witnesses and their fame and condition, and so also the accused. When V.A. has so much news of the persons, the truth or falseness will be known. And when it isn't sufficient to know, then the inquisitor should be sent and asked what he knows and feels: and if this would not be sufficient, send before proceeding to capture the person as to what has been informed of the fame and condition of the accused as to being a Christian or not; and with what would be ruled return to V.A. with it all and with some other that would provide what should be provided. If V.A. saw the witnesses of bad reputation, the denounce of good, and other circumstances of enmity, hate, or other causes that moved the witnesses other than that of zeal, it is certain that you would not allow it to proceed with the caption of such person. So it says in a decree which in this matter is a major instruction that the inquisitor has, and it starts by saying: *In fidei faverem* in the title *de Haereticis* in the sixth. It pleases me to dictate it in this way it conveys better what I say.

"And so that V.A. is not marveled because I say that with another care should V.A. speak of one case than of another, so teaches the law. The pope in the decree that starts: *Nisi* in the title *de Oficio legati* did not proceed to speak about the penalty of one who had committed a certain crime because he was your friend you did not want to give him the penalty that he deserved. So, Sir, it is not to treat the servant as the other even in justice; it can be proceeded by placing more diligence in one than in the other so that its truth is not hidden, and giving it the attributes that without lesion justice can give. That is why that singular king D. Henry who disrespected the king D. Pedro sent that of his servants no other would know but him.

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Therefore with great reason I beg V.A. provide in these deeds of mine, and of my brother as I beg, because it all be proceeds from justice; and without perverting it, V.A. can mandate it. So also the commissions that I request are all free will and just. I don't know how V.A. can deny them to your servant. Of V.A. a humble servant that your royal hands kisses,

JOANNES DE LUCENA

The brother to whom Juan Ramírez de Lucena referred was Carlos de Lucena. He was in the jail of the Holy Inquisition of Zaragoza. More information about Carlos de Lucena we will find in the forthcoming pages.

The process of Inquisition of Lucena has been lost and it is supposed that it has not been rescued from destruction, once the Counsel of Aragon determined the incineration of all existing copies, in the square of the Zaragoza Market in 1622, being outlawed the following year by a Royal Sanction. Juan Ramírez de Lucena was not the only one who had motives to complain of the King. His motto *to good service bad reward, according to the decrees of Aragón* was a reflection of the truths of these years. We have another similar case in Pedro Manrique de Lara, the first duke of Nájera. He was a valuable and magnificent knight who complained to King Fernando, but the latter no longer needed him and he dared to answer according to what Menéndez Pelayo¹⁸⁶ lets us know:

Don Pedro Manrique, one of the last that conserved an illusion already impossible, died retreated in his places of la Rioja, without ever obtaining repairs of his wrongdoings and not even an answer to his complaints because, as is sanely said by his biographer, «the Catholic King no longer had the need to please him». Still in his testament he manifested the integrity of his condition, declaring that he had spent and destroyed his

¹⁸⁶ **MENÉNDEZ PELAYO, Marcelino** (1941) Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literatura – II. Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Edición preparada por Enrique Sánchez Reyes, p. 288.

farm and ventured his person a thousand times in the services of the Catholic Kings to whom he charged their consciousness because they owed him more than any other man in their kingdoms, as that he was the main cause they governed.

The matter is also to know the power that the inquisitor of Zaragoza, Fernando de Montemayor, had in 1503. We find that ten years before, on 6 March 1493, Fernando de Montemayor¹⁸⁷ appears as archdeacon of Almazán and waiter of the Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (1428-1495). It seems that the powerful and influencing cardinal protected the protonotary in one way or another. On the other hand, Fernando de Montemayor must have known much about the deeds and whereabouts of Lucena, because the great cardinal was the protector of Lucena and, logically, in his communications with Montemayor he would be spoken of on more than one occasion. But after his death in 1495 his waiter Fernando Montemayor had his hands free and those above who chose Montemayor as inquisitor knew very well what they were doing. As it seems, he was named Inquisitor in September of 1500 and he appears as inquisitor of Zaragoza, at least until January 16 1505, in the following documents¹⁸⁸:

1500, September 16

Process against Juan Daça, merchant and neighbor of Calatayud, accused of pronouncing heretic words and of practicing Judaic rituals.

Inquisitor: Fernando de Montemayor, archdeacon of Almazán.

4th, 24 fols. Leg. 25, nr. 2.

1500, October – Zaragoza

¹⁸⁷ **VILLALBA RUIZ DE TOLEDO, F. Javier** (1999). El obispado de Sigüenza durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV. In: Cuadernos de Historia Medieval Secc. Miscelánea, 2, pp. 44-60. Citation in p. 51. Villalba refers to A.C.S. (Archivo Capitulares de Sigüenza) Doc. part. N^o. 211 (Diezmos).

¹⁸⁸ **UBIETO ARTETA, A. & GONZALEZ MIRANDA, M.** (1959). Procesos de la inquisición en Aragón (1466 – 1563). In: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos. 1959 – LXVII – 2, pp. 549 – 599. Citation in pp. 586-589.

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Process against Francisco Natero, sederer, who had fled from Zaragoza because his trade was better paid in other places.
4th Leg. 25, nr. 3.

1500, November 9.

Process against Alfonso de Zayas, squire and neighbor of Calatayud, accused of being a diabolical spirit and defaming the Inquisition.
Inquisitor: Fernando de Montemayor, archdeacon of Almazán.
4th, 205 fols. Leg. 25, nr. 4.

1501, August 25 – Zaragoza.

Process against Jaime de Santa Cruz, merchant and neighbor of Zaragoza, accused of pronouncing heretic words and of practicing Judaic rituals.
Inquisitor: Fernando de Montemayor, archdeacon of Almazán.
4th Leg. 25, nr. 7

1502, August 22 - Zaragoza

Process against Jaime Montero, glovemaker, resident in the curia of the King, accused of duplicity of matrimony.
Inquisitor: Fernando de Montemayor, archdeacon of Almazán.
4th Leg 9, nr. 6. It is with other processes.

1504, December 5

Process against Esperanza, wife of the maestre Fernando, tailor, convert Jew and neighbor of Tamarite de Litera, accused of apostasy and heretic practices.
Inquisitor: Fernando de Montemayor, archdeacon of Almazán.
4th Leg. 26, nr. 4.

1505, January 11 - Barbastro

Process against Aldonza Junqueras, widow of Juan de Bardají and neighbor of Barbastro, for not carrying the robe she had been condemned to use by the Inquisition.
Inquisitor: Fernando de Montemayor, archdeacon of Almazán.
4th Leg. 16, nr. 1. United with another process.

1505, January 16 – Barbastro

Process against Florencia de Varo, wife of Martín de Monclús, anviler, inhabitants of Barbastro, accused of heresy, apostasy, and superstitious practices.
Inquisitor: Fernando de Montemayor, archdeacon of Almazán.
4th Leg. 26. nr. 5.

After this, in 1513, Fernando de Montemayor was inspecting the tribunals of the inquisition of Aragón, Cataluña, and Valencia according to Lea¹⁸⁹. Therefore he must have been a man with very strong character. The supporting text by Lea is:

When the Inquisitions of Castile and Aragon were separated in 1507, each continued to employ inspectors. Alonso Rodríguez of whom we hear in 1509 probably belonged to Castile. In 1514 Ximenes appointed Juan Morís as inspector and after that special inspectors ceased to be employed for a while. In 1517 the Inquisitor of Córdoba was sent to inspect Toledo, Seville, and Jaén and the Inquisitor of Jaén to inspect Córdoba, Cuenca, and Valladolid. In Aragon Mercader sent Juan de Ariola to inspect Majorca, Sardinia, and Sicily in 1513 and at about the same time Hernando de Montemayor to inspect the tribunals of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia.

Soria's decadence began with the expulsion of the Jews – the true merchants. It is a curious fact that in 1577 it had 1200 neighbors and in 1602 it still had 22 parishes, Their number diminished quickly to 13 parishes and the population become poor, suffering shortfall in needs¹⁹⁰.

We don't know the date of Juan Ramírez de Lucena's death. Paz y Melia confuses the regent Juan de Lucena with the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena. Paz y Melía indicates that he must have died before 10 January 1507, as on this date the Duke of Medinaceli named Regent of the port of Santa María certain Jerónimo de Lucena, son of regent Juan de Lucena «due to the many good and loyal services of the father»¹⁹¹.

¹⁸⁹ **LEA, Henry Charles.** History of the inquisition of Spain. Volume 2. Lea refers to Archivo de Simancas, Inquisición, Lib. 3, fol. 251, 316; Lib. 933.

¹⁹⁰ **TORRES BALBÁS, L.** (1952). Soria: interpretación de los orígenes y evolución urbana. In: Celtiberia, 1952-3, pp. 7-31. Citation in p. 28.

¹⁹¹ **PAZ Y MELIA, A.** (1892). (editor): Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIX a XVI (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, p. XII.

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«Soria Castle Ruins, where Juan Ramírez de Lucena lived¹⁹²»

¹⁹² <http://fotoguiaespanaelblogdemanuelcervera.blogspot.com.es>

CHAPTER III: Siblings of the Protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena

The protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena had several siblings of whom almost all had relevant positions in administration.

1. Constanza Ramírez de Lucena

This sister of the protonotary was a neighbour of Soria and was married to Lopez de San Clemente, son of Fernán Martínez de San Clemente¹⁹³. She was accused of Judaism¹⁹⁴, but surely, due to the influences in the years of the protonothary, the Royal Counsel signed a letter of protection in her favor with the purpose of being able to defend the possession of the goods that her deceased husband had left her¹⁹⁵. Carrete Parrondo comments that perhaps the protonotary referred in his work *Epístola Exhortatoria a las letras* to his sister when with a great deal of irony he wrote¹⁹⁶:

¹⁹³ AGS, Registro General del Sello, II-1480, fol. 70. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. (249-272), Citation in p. 253.

¹⁹⁴ Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fols. 992r y 1.039r. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 171.

¹⁹⁵ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, fol. 70. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 172. Also in: Registro General del Sello, Archivo General de Simancas, Volume II, by María Asunción Mendoza, Amalia Prieto y Concepción Álvarez Terán, Valladolid, 1951, document 2479, p. 350.

¹⁹⁶ *Epístola Exortatoria a las letras*, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms. 13.042, fol. 173r. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 172.

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“A sister of mine, great prayer, reading that psalm of the Passion Deus, Deus meus, respice [Sal. 22], when it came to the verse Foderunt manus meas [v. 17], passing it without reading, feeling it one day, I said to her: ‘Sister, a verse thou hast transposed’. She answered: ‘Go to hell with your verse, to the palace that has polluted its hands in that sense’, thinking that that verse was against the ointment of the hands”.

Her husband the aforementioned Lopez de San Clemente, brother of the archdeacon Fernán Rodríguez de San Clemente, died before 1480¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁷ Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fol.s 938v, 987r, 1.093r, 1.098r, 1.116v y 1.185r, así como Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, fol. 70, a 9 de febrero de 1480. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart*, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 178.

2. Fernando de Lucena

What we don't know is whether this Fernando de Lucena was the same one who according to Serrano y Sanz translated the *Triunfo de las donas* to French in 1460 by Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara o del Padron¹⁹⁸. Fernando de Lucena, also called Hernando de Lucena, probably brother of Juan Ramírez de Lucena, was in 1471 ambassador of the King of Sicily. Miguel Briongos¹⁹⁹ finally cleared up the confusion between the Ambassador Fernando de Lucena and Juan de Luzena, because this was an error of Zurita. Where we read Fernando de Lucena we should read Juan Ramírez de Lucena. Zurita lets us know²⁰⁰:

Death of Edward the Prince of Wales

The King of Sicily had his intelligence with King Henry of England by means of his ambassador doctor Hernando de Lucena, coming to battle with king Edward his competitor it was therein that king Henry was beaten and taken prisoner, and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, brothers of king Edward, killed Edward the prince of Wales, son of king Henry before king Edward, who was so handsome that he could move mercy in any enemy; and his mother queen Margaret, the sister of duke Juan de Lorena, rescued her life and came to France.

At another time doctor Hernando de Lucena (read Juan Ramírez de Lucena) was in charge of setting up a marriage between the different dynasties in 1471²⁰¹.

Response from the King of Aragón to the King of Sicily

¹⁹⁸ **SERRANO Y SANZ, M.** (1902). Noticias biográficas de Fernando de Rojas, autor de la Celestina, y del impresor Juan de Lucena. In: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos. VI, pp. 245 – 294. Citation in p. 258.

¹⁹⁹ **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012). De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, p. LX.

²⁰⁰ **ZURITA, Jerónimo** (1610). Anales de Aragón. Libro XVIII, Cap. XXIX.

²⁰¹ **ZURITA, Jerónimo** (1610). Anales de Aragón. Libro XVIII, Cap. XLII.

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Said the King that about his marriage he had already responded to the infant that for several reasons he did not conform to doing it, which he had communicated to don Alonso Enríquez, uncle of the King of Sicily. That apart from this, now by means of the ambassadors of the duke of Borgoña the marriage of one of the daughters of the king don Hernando his nephew to the infant had been moved, and that to this marriage of all ould have approved the infant Doña Beatriz and the infant her son; and take charge of this doctor Hernando de Lucena. Finally the king affirmed that everything said to the prince his son and the story of certain royalties being granted in security of the marriage of the infant and the daughter of the queen were false alarms made by the masters of Santiago; that with all this he would be looking into what concerned his service and the benefit of the prince and princess to his sons.

We see that doctor Hernando de Lucena was also ambassador of the Duke of Borgoña in the same year 1471.²⁰²

The prince of Castilla received the toison in Dueñas

The prince made a stop in Dueñas because he had to receive the embassy of the duke of Borgoña there. Along came Juan de Reubempre, lord of Bieure, who brought the collar and garment of toison; and two ambassadors of the duke, Don Ladrón de Guevara and doctor Hernando de Lucena. They passed the king of Aragón, and the lord of Bieure with another two went to the king of Portugal. The one from Bieure was the foremost of that house of Borgoña and was selected by the order of this chivalry at the same time as the prince, and was later killed in the battle of Nancy with his lord, the duke of Borgoña. And there were great receptions and parties made to these ambassadors by the princes and the great ones who were with them in Dueñas.

In 1472 we see that Hernando de Lucena has the title of protonotary and that he was ambassador of the king of Sicily in Britain.

Complaint and mistrust that the duke of Borgoña had

The King had noticed last summer that the duke of Borgoña was ridden with much complaint and sentiment and with mistrust of the agreement

²⁰² ZURITA, Jerónimo (1610). *Anales de Aragón*. Libro XIX, Cap. V.

made between him and the king of France in Perpignan through the marriage of the infant of Castilla, his granddaughter, to the dauphin of France. And the same unhappiness was known to be had by the duke of Britain and the king of England, as was known from the notes of the protonotary Hernando de Lucena who was ambassador of the king of Sicily – by then prince of Castilla – in Britain. To satisfy these princes and confirm the confederations that the king and his son had with them, Hugo de Urriés was sent to Borgoña, Britain, and England.

The protonotary Hernando de Lucena was a good speaker and servant of the Cardinal and the Mendoza House. In 1475 he tried to arrange a marriage between a princess and the dauphin of France²⁰³.

Charges against Hernando de Lucena

This was because the protonotary Hernando de Lucena had been in England and claimed to be sent by the king and queen their children about the marriage of his daughter the Princess to Edward the Prince of Wales, son of Edward; and that instead of seeking the honor of their princes was so reckless and so talkative that, among other things, he told the king of England that by extreme necessity in which the king and queen of Castile were found they had not been able to send any relief to his father the king due to finding themselves in such straits, and it is largely to the troubles and movements of Castile, making it expensive for his desire to speak.

The power of interest

He went from England to Brittany and published the instructions that the King of England used for his marriage; and knowing a baron of France - who was the Lord of Lescun and was in Britain - procured that the protonotary would go disguised as a merchant with those instructions to the King of France who was in Angers; and he made great promises, even going so far as to promise to make him a Cardinal in order to fully understand what happened in England. Leaning towards promises as well as some gifts, he told the king of France what happened in England with the marriage and seals of eight lords of the Order of the Garter who assured the passing of King Eduardo to France.

The disguised complaint of the king [of Aragon]

The king confirmed that the Duke of Burgundy and the King of England had much disdain; and for this reason the protonotary Lucena was

²⁰³ ZURITA, Jerónimo (1610). *Anales de Aragón*. Libro XIX, Cap. XXI.

persuaded to broker the marriage of the princess and the Dauphin of France; and the King of Aragon came about this information having very little knowledge of the deal. And he said that without consultation with him about talks about marriage the deal should not go through; and although the fault was ascribed to Lucena as he was a servant of the Cardinal and the House of Mendoza, the king must have had sorrowful feelings regarding the Cardinal and the main advisors to the King and Queen and their children who ruled those negotiations. It was astonishing that they would speak of this, because the king of France was his enemy and had tried to bring many charges and damages in not keeping the faith nor truces that were agreed between them. Don Luis de Espés had been the ambassador to Naples to discuss the marriage of the Princess of Castile to Don Hernando Prince of Capua, grandson of the King of Naples, because although Don Luis was principally a gentleman, they wanted the Master of Montesa to take care of it or another person of great authority, and it was at that time that he hoped that ambassadors from the King of France would arrive in Barcelona to deal with the Count of Prades and the castellan of Amposta, and was hopeful of what this medium would make the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany last of the passing of the English to France.

In 1477 we see that the protonotary Hernando de Lucena was the ambassador to the Catholic Kings²⁰⁴.

Attempt of confederation by the kings of Aragon and Castile

What happened between the princes and the embassy? Given that the princes were forcibly perpetual enemies of the house of France, the kings of Aragon and Castile agreed to settle on a tentative confederation with them and all of the House of Austria and Burgundy, and the king and queen of Castile being in the city of Seville the following year by the month of July sent by their ambassadors to the Duke and Duchess to the protonotary Hernando de Lucena and Lope de Valdivieso. They ordered that they come together with the ambassador sent by his father - the king.

July 3, 1477 consists of how attorney of Maximilian of Austria, Duke of Burgundy²⁰⁵:

²⁰⁴ **ZURITA, Jerónimo** (1610). *Anales de Aragón*. Libro XX, Cap. IX.

²⁰⁵ **MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, RAMON** (1969). *Historia de España*, vol. XVII/1, Madrid, p. 211. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A.

"Doctor mosén Fernando de Lucena, ambassador of [sic] the very illustrious Duchess of Burgundy, our dearly beloved sister ... for all your life says vno [what does vno mean? I'm not aware of this word existing in English. Or is it a typographical error in both the Spanish and English version?] of our Advisory Board and would be able to enter and be on our Board and give your vote or votes on it And will be able to signal any and all letters and any ballots or certificates that we will sign our names on."

According to Carrete Parrondo Fernando de Lucena was Juan Ramírez de Lucena's²⁰⁶ brother and also a protonotarius and royal advisor. We will now see that Fernando de Lucena was married to Maria de Sotomayor and therefore we think he could not have been protonotary like his brother Juan Ramírez de Lucena. At that time Fernando de Lucena was appointed advisor of the Catholic Monarchs on 24 October 1477²⁰⁷.

2917. 24 October 1477 (S. I.)

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Appointment of royal advisor Doctor Mosén Fernando de Lucena, ambassador of the Duchess of Burgundy²⁰⁸

Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 177.

²⁰⁶ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, fol. 66, a 27 de diciembre de 1479. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 177.

²⁰⁷ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, fol. 66, a 27 de diciembre de 1479. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 177.

²⁰⁸ **ORTÍZ DE MONTALBÁN, Gonzalo** (1950-1974). Registro general del sello (1454-1495); ed. rev. y aum. por María Asunción de Mendoza Lassalle ; introducción de Miguel Bordonau y Mas. 12 Volumes. Valladolid: Archivo de Simancas, 1950-1974. Volume I, p. 373, N°. 2917. Cited by M. Carrión (1978). Gómez Manrique y el protonotario Lucena. Dos cartas con memoria de Jorge Manrique. In: *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Volumen 81, N°. 3, (pp. 565 – 582), p. 569.

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Don Fernando and Doña Isabel etc., doing well and thanks to you Mosen Doctor Ferrando de Lucena, very illustrious ambassador of the Duchess of Burgundy, our dearly beloved sister, obeying some good and important services you have provided for us and provide every day and in any amendment and remuneration for them is our mercy and will that now and henceforth and for the rest of your life that you be member of our Council and that you are able to enter and stay in our Council and give your vote or votes accordingly to each of the others in our Council who can and must give it, and be able to sign and that you sign any of all letters and schedules that we will sign our name on the back of them and each of them accordingly to what each one of the others of our board they can and must do and enjoy all honours and thanks, eminences, prerogatives, and immunities and all the other things that because of being in our Council you must enjoy and have. And hereby we send to our Council that now you are or will henceforth be they ought to and receive you Doctor Mosén Ferrando of Lucena as one of our board and you are admitted and received at our Council first taking the oath and solemnity that in such a case is required and you must take, and you must keep and be kept of all good and wise that you did accordingly and therefore we hereby received you Mosén Ferrando de Lucena in our Council and we grant you the authority and to use and exert, etc.

In the noble city of Xeres de la Frontera on the twenty-fourth day of October since the birth of our lord Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and seventy-seven years.

I, the King; I, the Queen, I, Alfonso de Avila, secretary of the King and Queen our lords wrote it under their command²⁰⁹.

Fernando de Lucena was an ambassador of the Duchess of Burgundy according to Carrión²¹⁰, and the chronicler Zurita says he was

²⁰⁹ Archivo General de Simancas. Registro del Sello, 1477-X, fol. 178. Cited by **SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis** (1965). *Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica. Estudio y Documentos*. Valladolid. Instituto “Isabel la Católica” de Historia Eclesiástica, pp. 351-352.

²¹⁰ **ORTIZ DE MONTALBÁN, GONZALO** (1950-1974). *Registro General del Sello*. Nueva ed. Rev. Por M. Asunción de Mendoza Lassalle, Valladolid, 1950-1974, (Archivo General de Simancas, catálogo XIII). V. t. I, p. 373, n. 2917. Cited by **CARRIÓN, M.** (1978). Gómez Manrique y el protonotario Lucena. Dos cartas con memoria de Jorge Manrique. In: *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Volumen 81, N°. 3, (pp. 565 – 582), p. 569.

attorney of Maximilian I²¹¹. Carrete Parrondo states that in July 1478 the king appointed him as ambassador to the Dukes of Burgundy²¹². This implies that Fernando de Lucena was at the time a man of confidence for both of the Kings of Castile and the Dukes of Burgundy. Menendez Pidal says that the protonotary Fernando de Lucena, workmanship of Cardinal Mendoza, had a prominent diplomatic performance record with France²¹³.

Paz y Melia²¹⁴ says that Fernando de Lucena had translated the *Triunfo de las donas* by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón²¹⁵ in 1460. In similar terms Alcalá clarifies that Fernando de Lucena translated the book *Triunfo de las donas* by Rodríguez del Padrón from Castilian to French. Both Hernando de Lucena and Alonso Ramírez de Lucena were chosen as executors for his brother the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena when he was an executor in Soria on September 10 1501, while his son Alonso Ramírez de Lucena, nephew of the protonotary, was named his universal heir²¹⁶.

²¹¹ **ZURITA, G.** (1610). *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Zaragoza, Juan de Lanaja, 1610, IV, libro XX, cap. IX, p. 281. Cited by M. Carrión (1978). Gómez Manrique y el protonotario Lucena. Dos cartas con memoria de Jorge Manrique. In: *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Volumen 81, Nº. 3, (pp. 565 – 582), p. 569.

²¹² **ZURITA, G.** (1579). *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, Zaragoza, IV, p. 281a. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 177.

²¹³ **MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramon** (1969). *Historia de España*, dirigida por R. Menéndez Pidal. Volume XVII, p. 118. Menéndez Pidal refers to Zurita (*Anales*. Zaragoza, Juan de Lanaja, 1610, IV, libro XX, cap. IX, p. 229).

²¹⁴ **PAZ Y MELÍA, A.** (1892). (editor): *Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIX a XVI* (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, p. XI.

²¹⁵ **ALCALÁ, ANGEL** (1968). Juan de Lucena y el Pre-erasmismo español. *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, XXXIV, pp. 108 – 131. Citation in p. 114. Alcalá se refiere a M.R. Lida de Malkiel. “Juan Rodríguez del Padrón. Influencia”. In: *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, VIII (1954), 1: “Fernando de Lucena hijo o sobrino de Vasco Fernández de Lucena...”.

²¹⁶ Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid, Pleitos Civiles, Lapuerta, Fenecidos Caja 352-1. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario

The Lucenas were in many places. Thus we find another Fernando de Lucena in Brussels, who concluded in Brussels in 1460 the French translation of the *Triumph of Donuts*²¹⁷ commissioned by his friend Vasco Queimado Villalobos, and dedicating it to the Dukes of Burgundy Philip the Good and Isabel of Portugal. It might be that Fernando de Lucena was the son or nephew of Vasco Fernandez de Lucena, a Portuguese of Spanish origin. Apparently Fernando studied in Paris with his younger brother Vasco. The latter appears later in the service of the Dukes of Burgundy and translates Quintus Curtius and *Cyropaedia* to Charles the Bold²¹⁸.

Probably this same Hernando Ramirez de Lucena was the brother of the protonotary Juan Ramirez de Lucena when the latest complained to King Ferdinand that he could not see his brother in the prison of the inquisition in Zaragoza.

According to Carrete Parrondo Fernando de Lucena was Juan Ramírez de Lucena's²¹⁹ brother and also a protonotario and royal advisor. We will now see that Fernando de Lucena was married to Maria de Sotomayor and therefore we think he could not have been protonotary like his brother Juan Ramírez de Lucena. At that time Fernando de Lucena was appointed advisor of the Catholic Monarchs on 24 October 1477²²⁰.

Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 254.

²¹⁷ **LIDA DE MALKILE, María Rosa** (1978). Estudios sobre la literatura española del siglo XV. Madrid, p. 79.

²¹⁸ **VAUGHAN, Richard** (1973). Charles the Bold: The last Valois Duke of Burgundy, Volume 4, p. 163.

²¹⁹ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, fol. 66, a 27 de diciembre de 1479. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 177.

²²⁰ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, fol. 178. El nombramiento se expidió en Jerez de la Frontera. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and

In 1477 we see Fernando de Lucena, servant²²¹ of Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, as ambassador of Maximilian of Hapsburg to represent him in the court of Fernando and Isabel²²². The document where Fernando de Lucena appears as a servant of the great cardinal is as follows:

(3r.)

(Cruz)

We, the Cardinal of Spain and – command that the received are transferred to you, Bartolome de Medina, our waiter, books, silver, and other things that later they will say that you gave under our command to Fernando de Lucena, our servant, for him to deliver them accordingly in this manner:

Firstly a large Bible and one large decree written in parchment, which we sent to be bought in Çaragoça, which are to be delivered by Fernando de Lucena by our command to the Abbot and friars of the Monastery of Huerta.

Furthermore the sum of Ostien and one bártulo on the first part of [white] payroll and registration of Saint Gregory and Iohanes Tortelinues and --- on the Old Testament, all these books written in parchment are to be sent to our school of Santa --- of Valladolid.

Item, fifteen other books are to be given and handed over to Alonso Vázquez which are these: Bible with blue silk cover, the first and second letter of Saint Thomas, Saint Thomas' Cobiletos, the first and second and third and fourth of Santo Tomas and the Contested Cuestions and Sum against Gentiles and one Agostino De Civitate Dey, another Agostino Confesionim egidimis of regimine principum and one part of Tito Libio, the Coronica King Alfonso --- all these fifteen books written in parchment, all sent to be bought in Çaragoça except for the blue Bible.

Item, six small gilded silver cups, we sent to be bought in Çaragoça from Juan Sanchez, a silversmith, which are to be given to Alonso Vásquez.

Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 177.

²²¹ **FRANCO SILVA, Alfonso** (1999). A.C.D.A. Cuellar, Nº 371. Varios/VIII Nº 3. In: Anales de Historia antigua, medieval y moderna. No 32, pp. 80-180. Citation in p. 128.

²²² **OCHOA BRUN, Miguel Ángel** (1995). Historia de la diplomacia española. Biblioteca diplomática española. Volumen cuatro. Madrid, p. 46, 185, 246.

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Item, a golden silver cup – which weighed six maravedis (?) and a half, we sent to be bought in Çaragoça from Juan Sánchez, a silversmith, which are to be given to Alonso Vázquez.

In addition, a scarlet red blanket and two pairs of scarlet trousers which are to be given to Alonso Vázquez.

(3v.)

The aforementioned things and each of them you, Bartolome de Medina, our servant, gave and delivered by our command to Fernando de Lucena for him to give and deliver them to whom is pertinent, which we sent you to be received and transferred with our (sic) payroll only, not showing for it other card payment or any diligence except our payroll. Çaragoça twelfth day of February of eighty-eight years. Cardinal by order of His Most Reverend Lady. Diego de Talauera.

However, this situation of confidence would change, as we will see in the following information from the historian Rodríguez Valencia. Unfortunately this historian does not say where he obtained the observation that Fernando de Lucena had been influenced against the Catholic Queen. This was probably the work of Juan Manuel who was banished to the court of Maximilian, where by skill and wit he created discord between the King and the Emperor²²³. We do know that some Spanish members in Flanders were more in favour of Philip the Fair (Philip the Handsome) than of the Catholic Monarchs. We probably can give credibility to some information in the historical books of Flanders.

Rodríguez Valencia said that «Certainly if some Spanish diplomats from Flanders had been influenced against the Catholic Queen, as in the case of Fernando de Lucena, it was not about seeking revenge on his daughter, or anything». The Queen was too fond of these young girls educated at home and, moreover, in this case the recommendation of St. Paul: «Do not let evil overcome you - overcome evil with good' applies. The diplomat, overpowered here

²²³ LÉCEA Y GARCIA, Carlos (1893). El licenciado Sebastián de Peralta. Bosquejo histórico-biográfico. Segovia, p. 115.

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by the strength of good, writes the Queen a surrender letter, to which we have nothing to add, only to show its text²²⁴».



Philip I of Castile (Philip de Fair, Wikipedia)

Letter to the Catholic Queen. Gante, 1 March 1500

A.G.S. Royal home and sites. Original. Signed

Such is the magnificence that your Highness, with me and with the daughter I sent there, has worked with such humanity receiving her, treating her with such clemency, helping her with her needs with much love, providing in her marriage with such providence and sharing with her, in the end, your property so frankly and liberally, which shows that you wanted to show the role of her pious mother more than that of a Lady; and

²²⁴ **RODRÍGUEZ VALENCIA, Vicente** (1970). Isabel la Católica en la opinión de españoles y extranjeros. Volume I. Siglos XV al XVI. Instituto “Isabel la Católica”. De historia eclesiástica. Valladolid, pp. 271-272.

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briefly in such employee seeing all seven works of mercy or which I cannot thank for such large benefits let alone express so many praises. The large sums of your very excellent works... have already spread in such a manner and like a very mild scent around the universe the clear fame of your many virtues, which on the one hand open the mouths of all listeners to whom they are told, and on the other hand I do not know how they close them, as due to their huge immensity they cannot say much since they do not have much left to say. Oh, event worthy of great admiration pumps in me, who is no one, extend and reach in the glow of your magnificence and clarify and illustrates in me the relics of generosity being elongated four hundred feet; and even what rises your praise the most, that by false words of slanderers your grace was daunted in any way.

Fernando de Lucena (heading)

In the *Ordenance of the Hotel*, approved in Gante by Philip the Fair on 1 February 1500 contains a total of 415 officials and 61 guards. To this number of people should be added the ones from the *Hotel* of the Princess Joan, Don Philip's wife, whose *Ordenance* from 2 October 1501 gives the number of 164 people. Joan had 34 Spanish people at her service, among whom was Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa; Philip had only 5, among whom was Fernando de Lucena as *master of the Grand Council requests*²²⁵. That tells us that Fernando de Lucena was advisor of Prince Philip the Fair.

Some of the Spanish names of Joan's maids were by November 1501 María de Aragón, daughter of the Contestable de Navarra; María Manrique, daughter of Pedro Manrique, lord of Bardizcar; María Manuel, daughter of Juan Manuel; Blanca de Manrique, niece of the

²²⁵ **FAGEL, Raymund Paulus.** (1996). De Hispano-Vlaamse wereld. De contacten tussen Spanjaarden en Nederlanders 1496-1555. Tesis doctoral Universidad católica de Nijmegen. Bruselas, pp. 323-353. Cited by **DOMÍNGUEZ CASAS, Rafael** (2006). Estilo y rituales de corte. In: Felipe I el hermoso. La belleza y la locura. Dirigido por Miguel Ángel Zalama y Paul Van den Broeck. Coedición del CEEH, la Fundación Caros de Ámberes y la Fundación Caja de Burgos, p. 92.

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Duke of Nájera; Beatriz de Bobadilla, niece of the Marquess of Moya²²⁶.



Beatriz de Bobadilla (Wikipedia)

²²⁶ **GACHARD, M.** (1876). Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas. Tome I. Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Maximilien et Philippe le Beau.- Relation du premier voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne, en 1501, par Antoine de Lalaing, seigneur de Montigny.- Relation du deuxième voyage de Philippe le Beau, en 1506, par un anonyme, par M. GACHARD, p. 128.

From 1498 to 1501 Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa was also in Gante. Was he one of the defamers²²⁷? Diego was in Flanders in 1501 with Juan de Fonseca, bishop of Córdoba, and returned the same year. On 4 November 1501 the Archdukes left Burgundy for Spain with no Spaniards in their company, at least according to Olmedo, based on historian De Montigny²²⁸ without exact reference. The information of Domínguez Casas²²⁹ seems strange but, also based on Gachard²³⁰, is totally different. That historian says that Fernando de Lucena was in the company of Philip the Fair:

In 1502 Philip the Fair went to Spain through France with a *Hotel* formed by 367 people and 45 *body archers*. Henri of Berghes, bishop of Cambrai, was the *grant and ruler of the chapel*; Jean III, lord of Berghes, served as *first and great chamberlain* until he was dismissed in Toledo; Philip, bastard of Borgoña and lord of Blaton, was the *first and great butler of the hotel*, and Claude Bonnard travelled as *Grandest first equerry stable*. Among the officials there were eleven Spaniards: the *public wine taster* from Aragon Gaspart Arment, the *head waiter* Diego de Guevara, lord of Jonvelle; his brother the *baker* Pedro de Guevara; the *steward* Juan of Portugal, the *general receiver of the Principality of Spain* Nuño de Gumiel; the *aides de fourrière* Salazar and Juan de la Cuadra, the *manservant* Miguel Franco, who also served as herald «Granada» to Joan; the *secretary*

²²⁷ **OLMEDO, Felix G.** (1944). Diego Ramírez Villaescusa (1459-1537). Editorial Nacional, Madrid, pp. 63-65.

²²⁸ **GACHARD, M.** (1876). Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas. Tome I. Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Maximilien et Philippe le Beau.- Relation du premier voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne, en 1501, par Antoine de Lalaing, seigneur de Montigny.- Relation du deuxième voyage de Philippe le Beau, en 1506, par un anonyme.

²²⁹ **DOMÍNGUEZ CASAS, Rafael** (2006). Estilo y rituales de corte. In: Felipe I el hermoso. La belleza y la locura. Dirigido por Miguel Ángel Zalama y Paul Van den Broeck. Coedición del CEEH, la Fundación Caros de Ámberes y la Fundación Caja de Burgos, p. 94.

²³⁰ **GACHARD, M.** (1876). Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas. Tome I. Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Maximilien et Philippe le Beau.- Relation du premier voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne, en 1501, par Antoine de Lalaing, seigneur de Montigny.- Relation du deuxième voyage de Philippe le Beau, en 1506, par un anonyme.

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Juan López de Gamboa, the *tambourine* Alonso de Córdoba, and the *master of requests* Fernando de Lucena.

Maybe the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena was aware of his brother's trip to Spain, because both Hernando de Lucena and his brother Alonso Ramírez de Lucena were chosen as testamenters by Juan Ramírez de Lucena when this made the testament in Soria on 10 September 1501, while Alonso Ramírez de Lucena's son, the protonotary's nephew, was named his universal heir²³¹.

We know now that Fernando de Lucena also traveled to Spain. On 29 January 1502 the archdukes arrived to Fuenterrabia. Then they were in Vitoria, Burgos, Valladolid, Segovia, and Madrid. On 22 April they entered Toledo where they were welcomed by the Catholic Monarchs. On 22 May the princes were sworn in the major cathedral. Among the prelates there was the bishop of Málaga, Diego Ramirez de Villaescusa, chaplain of the archdukes and adviser of kings beside the great Cardinal Ximenes. On 27 October 1502 the princes were sworn in Zaragoza. Prince Philip the Fair wanted to return home, but the Kings tried to convince him to stay. The prince probably found himself helpless; most of his servants were killed by the change of air and food, including the Archbishop Bisuntino (Besançon) who had raised him since he was a child. This death appears to make him fearful about this, as he had discovered a plot of mystery, which after his death had come true as he had announced²³². It is probably at this time that he was also temporarily without Fernando de Lucena. Be it as it may, but neither the courts of Argon nor Castile managed to stop him, and so on 19 December 1502 the prince began his return trip²³³. Below is a sample document

²³¹ Archivo de la Chancilleria de Valladolid, Pleitos Civiles, Lapuerta, Fenecidos Caja 352-1. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 254.

²³² **SHEUBER, Yolanda** (2007). Juana de Loca. Madrid : Ediciones Nowtilus, p. 276.

²³³ **OLMEDO, Felix G.** (1944). Diego Ramírez Villaescusa (1459-1537). Editorial Nacional, Madrid, pp. 71-72.

relating to the salary of Fernando de Lucena²³⁴. We also note that the salary of Bensanços is still respected, despite him having already died in 1502.

Monseigneur a ordonné que les maistres des requestes, secrétaires et huissiers du conseil cy-après dénommer aient été comptez para les deseroes depuis le dixième jour de novembre jusques au derrenier de jевvier derrenier passez en cest an 1503, assavoir: les maistres des requestes à XXIV sols par jour, pour autant de jours qu'ilz ont servy durante lediet terme; les secrétaires aux gaiges aussay cy-après déclairez et pour les jours qu'ilz ont servy durante lediet temps, et les huissiers chacun à VI sols par jour, pour autant de jous qu'ilz ont servy oudiet temps. Fait à Valencienne, le XIIIe jour de février 1503.- Haneton.

Monseigneur a en oultre ordonné que maistre Pierre Puissant, contreroleur de l'audience, soit, dudiet premier jour de février en avant, compté, présent et absent, à ses gaiges acconstumez de XV sols par jour, comme il appert par lettres patentes sur ce expédiées. Faiet lediet XIIIe février oudiet an 1503.- Haneton

Maitres des Requests a XXIV sols par jour.

Le prévost de Cassel.

Le doyen de Besançon († en 1502)

Maistre Philippe Wyelant.

Maistre Pierre l'Apostolle.

Maistre Rollant de Moerkerque.

Maistre Jehan Sucket.

Maistre Jehan Guillet.

Maistre Jehan Rousseau, procurerur général.

Maistre Fernande de Lucenne, conseiller, à VI sols VIII deniers par jour.

Maistre Pierre Midy, substitut du procureur général, à VI sols par jour.....

Sometimes I think there were two people of Spanish origin with the name of Fernando de Lucena related to the Burgundian court, since on 22 January 1504 Archduke Philip established the Grand Council

²³⁴ **GACHARD, M.** (1876). Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas. Tome I. Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Maximilien et Philippe le Beau.- Relation du premier voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne, en 1501, par Antoine de Lalaing, seigneur de Montigny.- Relation du deuxième voyage de Philippe le Beau, en 1506, par un anonyme.

in Malines with several people, among whom is Fernando de Lucena²³⁵.

The grand council was established in Mechelen by Archduke Philip, 22 January 1504 which consisted of these people: Iean Mr. Pieters, dict Cath, President.

Conseillers.

M. Iean Vincent, prevost de Cassel.

M. Richard de la Chapelle.

M. Iean de Carondelet, archeuesque de Palerme et président du conseil privé

M. George de Treuiseke.

M. Hierosme de Busleyden, preuost d'Aire

M. Philippe Wielant, depuis président de Flandres.

M. Thomas de la Papoire.

M. Ferdinand de Lucenne.

M. Iean Sacquet.

M. Pierre l'Appostole.

M. Hierosme Van den Dorpe.

M. Guillaume de Groots.

M. Iean Guillet.

M. Iean Auxtruyes.

On the other hand we find information that Fernando de Lucena was rendering his services to the court of Burgundy, and his remains have since 1511 rested in the Belgian monastery in Malines next to his wife Mary of Sotomayor²³⁶:

We saw them all fall, formerly the cloister of the chapter Carmélitess Mechelen, with this inscription in copper letters.

²³⁵ **GOLLUT, Loys** (1846). *Les Mémoires historiques de la république séquanoise et des princes de la Franche-Conté de Bourgogne*. Arbois, Auguste Javel, éditeur, p. 1427.

²³⁶ **CORNEILLE STROOBANT, M. l'abbé** (1843). *Notice sur les seigneurs D'Ittre et de Thibermont*. In: *Bulletin et annales de l'Académie d'archéologie de Belgique*. Tome Premier, Anvers, p. 377.

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voyait anciennement leur tombe au chapitre du cloître des Carmélites
à Malines, avec cette inscription en lettres de cuivre.

Chy gisent noble homme messire Fernando
de Lucenne, Docteur es loix et decretz, chlr. ,
Conseiller, Chambellan ordinaire de l'Impériale
Mageste, et de feu de très digne mémoire
Don Philipe, roy des Espaignes, ayant servi
successivement quatre Ducqs en la maison
de Bourgoigne, qui trespasa le dernier jour
de janvier l'an XVC XIIJ. Et noble Dame
donne Marie de Sotomayor , sa femme ,
qui eu bonne paix et amour vesquirent ensemble
l'espace de L ans , et trespasa première
le IX mars de l'an XVCXJ. Priez Dieu
pour leurs âmes.

Fernando de Lucena, counsellor of parliament and the Grand Council, had a son Tristan who succeeded him²³⁷. Another son of his was Luis, who studied at Orleans and became a lawyer in Malines²³⁸. There is a marriage contract from 1529 between Luis de Lucena, lawyer of the Grand Council of the city of Mechelen and the Spanish María Sotomayor²³⁹. Mary de Lucienne, daughter of Fernando de Lucena and Maria de Sotomayor married Jaques d'Ittre, Knight, Count of Fauquenbergh, Lord of Ittre, Thibermont, Baudeumont and Sart. From this marriage a daughter was born in 1507. Anne of Ittre,

²³⁷ **GALESLOOT, L. & GALESLOOT, Louis Jean Guillaume** (1884). *Inventaire des archives de la cour féodale de Brabant*. Editeur F. Halles, p. 205.

²³⁸ **WIJFFELS, Alain A.** (1985). *Qui millies allegatur: les allégations du droit savant dans les dossiers du Grand Conseil de Malines (causes septentrionales, ca. 1460-1580)*. Volume I. *Rechtshistorische Studies* Nr. 11. Brill Archive, p. 333.

²³⁹ **FAGEL, Raymond Fagel** (1996). *De Hispano-Vlaamse Wereld. De contacten tussen Spanjaarden en Nederlanders 1496-1555*. Tesis doctoral. Universidad católica de Nijmegen, Holanda, p. 104.

Lady of Ittre, Thibermont, Baudeumont and Sart married Jean de Baillencourt in 1522²⁴⁰.

Of these documents of Fernando de Lucena we are aware of the actions of Fernando de Lucena and obviously he was not thrown into prison of the Inquisition in Zaragoza. It is known that in the late 15th century many witnesses testified against the protonotary's mother Catalina Ramirez before the courts of the Inquisition. Probably both Carlos de Lucena, servant of Cardinal Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza and probably collector of the monarchy and the protonotary no longer felt so confident before the Inquisitor Fernando de Montemayor. Statements obtained from witnesses clearly showed that his mother Catherine Ramirez had continued staying true to the practices and customs of the Jews and probably because of this information and others Inquisitor Fernando de Montemayor saw similarities in Carlos de Lucena, so he threw her into prison. When Catalina Ramirez had been dead for several years, the inquisitors finally arrived in 1510 to condemn and declare heretic memory and reputation of Catalina Ramirez whose provision was aimed at Carlos de Lucena who already was living in Alcala de Henares²⁴¹. He wasted no time and claimed these confiscated goods consisting of various properties in the city of Soria and his land and others in Valladolid²⁴². The imprisonment of Carlos de Lucena's children Petronila de Lucena, Gaspar de Lucena, and teacher Juan del Castillo in later years, who were all accused by alumbradism is perhaps proof that the Inquisitor Fernando de Montemayor was not wrong with the

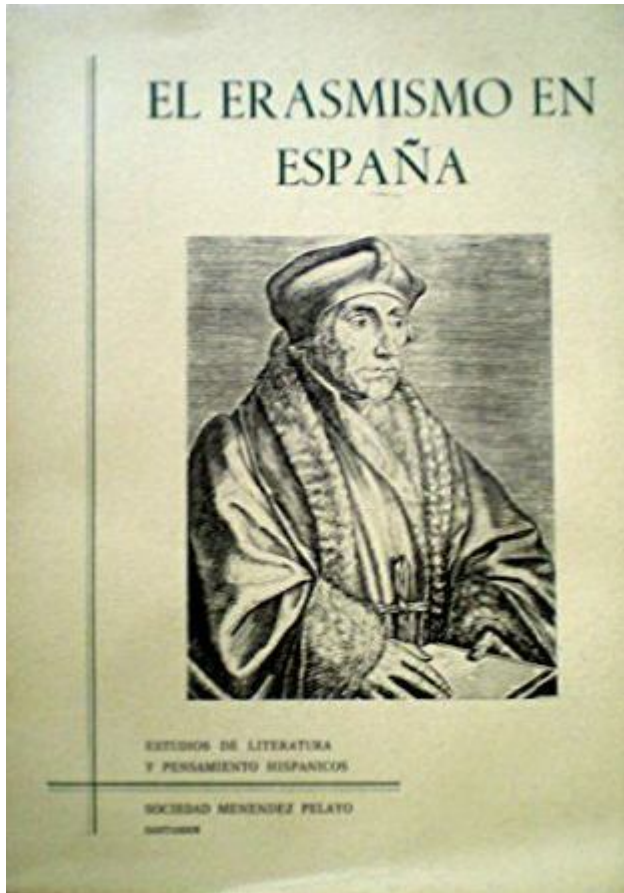
²⁴⁰ **CORNEILLE STROOBANT, M. l'abbé** (1843). Notice sur les seigneurs D'Ittre et de Thibermont. In: Bulletin et annales de l'Académie d'archéologie de Belgique. Tome Premier, Anvers, p. 377.

²⁴¹ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, I – 1510. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 255.

²⁴² Archivo Chancillería de Valladolid, P.C. Taboada, F. Envoltorio 160, N° 5. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 255.

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actions against Carlos de Lucena. The Lucena family indeed practiced the Catholic faith their own way and then there were seen the beginnings of alumbradism or preErasmism²⁴³.



²⁴³ **ALCALA, Ángel** (1968). Juan de Lucena y el Pre-erasmismo español. In: *Revisa Hispanica Moderna*, XXXIV, pp. 108-131.

3. Diego Ramírez de Lucena

This brother figures in a document²⁴⁴ from December 26 1479 and in various documents²⁴⁵ illustrating his public activity with the Spanish monarchs:

File 3 fols. 45-321 we observe²⁴⁶ :

Documents by the Queen, for which Martin de Salinas, Contino or Man at Arms of her house and treasurer of his disclaimers, certain amounts are paid to the persons listed - Year 1503: And we see in Folio 215 his status as man at arms: The Commander Diego Ramirez de Lucena, man at arms.

Apparently he was ruler of Toledo²⁴⁷ on March 23 1488 and was called *contino* of the Royal House in a document dated May 30 1494²⁴⁸.

²⁴⁴ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, XII-1479, fol. 66. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 262.

²⁴⁵ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, fol. 66, a 27 de diciembre de 1479

Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, fol. 91, a 20 de enero de 1480

Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, fol. 203, a 23 de mayo de 1488

Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, fol. 158, a 29 de abril de 1493

Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, fol. 409, a 5 de julio de 1494

Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 172.

²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁶ Archivo General de Simancas, Casa y Sitios Reales, Leg. 3, fol. 215. Cited by **PRIETO CANTERO, AMALIA** (1969). Casa y descargos de los Reyes Católicos, Valladolid, p. 90.

²⁴⁷ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, III-1488, fol. 22. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 262 y 269.

²⁴⁸ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, V-1494, fol. 468. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en

4. Alonso Ramírez de Lucena

Another brother²⁴⁹ of the protonotary was Alonso Ramirez de Lucena. His wife, whose name we could not find, who lived c. 1488 in Soria was accused of embracing the Jewish²⁵⁰ religion. According to the statement of Pascuala, wife of Juan de Enciso, a resident of Soria, Alonso de Lucena lived in Madrid. The document is the following²⁵¹:

99 (Page 53-54) Soria, August 8, 1490 Alonso Ramirez de Lucena

Pascuala, wife of a resident of Soria Juan de Enciso said that beyond what you have said and deposed in this Holy Office the mother of the protonotary Lucena, says again that it could have been nine or ten years since she saw this witness with the mother of the protonotary. She saw that once or twice a Jew wearing a Capon, a defunct neighbor of Soria, brought the mother of the protonotary pastry made with pigeons and chickens, and how her mistress ate them, and that this witness ate from them. And the witness said more: that she saw unleavened bread, which falls on the Holly Week, and the mother of the protonotary ate hormiguillos instead of unleavened bread, and that through Easter she would not eat other bread and ate the hormiguillos instead of unleavened bread.

And once at this time when Easter was ending instead of eating unleavened bread this witness brought to his mistress two scones of unleavened bread from the Jewry, from the castle and house of one of his mistress's sister,

su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 262.

²⁴⁹ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, fol. 66, a 27 de diciembre de 1479. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 172.

²⁵⁰ Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fol. 990r. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 178.

²⁵¹ **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1985). Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae, II. El tribunal de la Inquisición en el Obispo de Soria (1486 – 1502), p. 53 y 54.

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and that is what she saw her eat. And when this witness brought the cakes to the mother of the protonotary Alonso de Lucena whom she saw in Madrid, Quarreled with this witness because she brought the cakes of unleavened bread from the Jewry. And like this quarreled with his mother who said: "Despite this, you dishonor us with these things you do". And as soon as she saw during that Easter unleavened bread, his daughter, wife of Alonso de Lucena, sent lentils cooked with leavened bread, and because they had leavened bread she did not want to eat the food. And this witness knew that the mother of the protonotary did not eat bacon, and this witness sent them to the house and they were told not to add bacon in the pot where she cooked the food.

Alonso Ramirez de Lucena is not stated in the documents of Diago as one of the protonotary's siblings²⁵², but he was the father of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, heir to the protonotary Juan de Lucena.

Both Alonso Ramirez de Lucena and Hernando de Lucena were chosen as witnesses by his brother the protonotary Juan de Lucena when they gave testament in Soria on September 10, 1501. Meanwhile the son of Alonso Ramirez de Lucena, nephew of the protonotary, was named his heir²⁵³.

This nephew, Juan Ramirez de Lucena, clerk of the City of Soria was part of the lineage²⁵⁴ of Chancilleres in 1526.

²⁵² Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, fol. 66, a 27 de diciembre de 1479. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 269.

²⁵³ Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid, Pleitos Civiles, Lapuerta, Fenecidos Caja 352-1. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 254.

²⁵⁴ Archivo Municipal de Soria, Linajes, nº 7. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 254.

5. Carlos de Lucena

A summary of facts about the family of Juan Ramírez de Lucena has already been given in my book from 2006. In this case it is important to document the lives of the children of Carlos de Lucena, brother of Juan Ramírez de Lucena. For some bizarre reason no one has talked about the father of Juan del Castillo, Petronila de Lucena, and Gaspara de Lucena. Therefore we will begin with the father Carlos de Lucena.

Juan Ramirez de Lucena, who was a political collaborator in the first days of the future monarchs in 1470, had a brother Carlos²⁵⁵ who was at the service of Cardinal Mendoza as a servant while very young, both during the reign of Enrique IV and of his successors the Catholic Monarchs. The following document demonstrates that Carlos de Lucena was a servant of the great cardinal²⁵⁶:

1478. November 16. Cordoba

Paid letter granted by the count of Coruña and his son Bernadino de Mendoza who paid Luis Portocarrero in satisfaction of his resignation to the Mission of Azuaga.

ADA Palma. C. 7, n. ° 52

I, Mr. Lorenzo Suarez de Mendoça, count of Coruña, viscount of Torija, and I, Mr. Bernardino de Mendoça fixed of the named count, my lord, grant and acknowledge that for such quarrel and debate between Mr. Luys Portocarrero, Lord of the villa de Palma my nephew and cousin of me Mr. Bernardino de Mendoça about the Mission of Azuaga and for taking said quarrel it was arranged that Mr. Luys Portocarrero will give us one and a half maravedis in counted money and a jewel of the Verca that contains a

²⁵⁵ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, fol. 66, a 27 de diciembre de 1479. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 177.

²⁵⁶ **CALDERÓN ORTEGA, José Manuel** (1989) *Pugnas nobiliarias para el control de las dignidades de las órdenes militares en la Castilla bajomedieval: El caso de la Encomienda de Azuaga (1465-1478)*. Espacio, tiempo y forma. Separata, Serie III. Revista de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia, N°. 4, pp. 97-135. Citation in pp. 134-135.

diamond, two rubies, and a pearl, that who was count of Haro that God there, and add one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis that swore that you have given by privilege, the one and thirty thousand in rents of the çibada de Eçija and the twenty thousand maravedis in the sales tax of Peñaflor, place of Cordova, in which the mentioned one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis were given by Mr. Luys [or Luis?] Portocarrero the privilege that was liberated from the accountants and the officials of the King and Queen our lords. That what has been said befits of knowing that the five hundred, jewels, and a hundred that we received swear that you Mr. Luys Portocarrero, we give ourselves and acknowledge that we are yours by our own will, and we have received all in our name and for our Fernando de Ençiso a story and three hundred thousand maravedis in money and said jewels, and the privilege of the name done hundred fifty thousand that have been sworn liberated, and the two hundred thousand maravedis in the fulfilment of the said story and the accountant of the Cardinal Iohan de Arevalo and more, received of the named accountant the fifty thousand maravedis of the third baker of this year and the mentioned one hundred and fifty thousand that I have sworn Mr. Bernardino has given. We promise and assure that now and in times to come nor for any reason we will go or seek against it or against part of it. Moreover, because of this we give our faith and word and because this is true, we sign our names in presence of the witnesses of your script, whose date in the city of Cordova is ten and six of November of seventy-eight years. For who was present as witness Garcia Franco and Diego Gonzçalez of Guadalajara secretary of Cardinal and **Carlos de Lucena, servant of the named Cardinal**. Count of Coruña, Mr. Bernardino, Garçia Franco Diego, Diego Gonzçalez's secretary. In addition I, Gonçalo de Cordova, notary of the Chamber of the King and Queen our lords and their public notary in their Court and all their kingdoms and kinsmen with one of the said witnesses, saw the signing here of the count of Coruña and Mr. Bernardino's names and because of their granting here is my signature that bears testimony to this being true, Gonçalo de Cordova.

According to declarations of Carlos de Lucena created in 1518, when he was 65 years of age he made known his servitude to the cardinal Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, which is why he spent plenty of time in the Court, until the death of Queen Isabella²⁵⁷.

²⁵⁷ Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid, Pleitos Civiles Zarandona y Walls, Fenecidos Caja 303-1 y ss. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 260.

Carlos de Lucena's wife was Beatriz Martinez, whose father Gonzalo Martinez Trapero, merchant and neighbor of the Soria, reclaimed²⁵⁸ March 8, 1484.

"by virtue of a public contract I acknowledge that I give certain sum of mrs in tenements and money that I give in duty and marriage with Beatriz, his daughter, in a certain way, in certain terms, and certain penalties."

Diago believes that Carlos de Lucena alternated between residences in Soria and Alcala that belonged to the archbishop of Toledo²⁵⁹, and that in the last city he would tie his second marriage after the death of his first wife, the Sorian Beatriz Martínez²⁶⁰. According to Diago many documents from the first decade of the XVI century confirm his presence in Soria as the lord of cattle and seller of wool²⁶¹. Diago says:

It is well known about Carlos de Lucena that he devoted his time to raising of cattle transhumanly and maybe even treating of wool, given that in 1506 it figured as the fifth neighbor of the city of Soria that paid a higher amount of money because of sales made from this product. His marriage, on the other hand, was entwined with the remarkable family of the Martinez Trapero merchants, given that it took effect with the daughter of Gonzalo Martinez Trapero, sister of Fernando de Valverde. Finally it is acknowledged that he also accumulated many properties on lands near the city of Soria such as the Royales, Carbonera, and Golmayo, all of which were confiscated by the Inquisition when convicted by a tribunal when his

²⁵⁸ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, fol. 74. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 177.

²⁵⁹ AGS, Registro General del Sello, I-1510, Cf. Notas 17 y 18. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. (249-272), Citation in p. 260.

²⁶⁰ Gaspar de Lucena, maestro Juan del Castillo y Petronila de Lucena in AHN, Inquisición, 111-114. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. (249-272), Citation in p. 255.

²⁶¹ **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1990). La Extremadura soriana y su ámbito a fines de la Edad Media, Universidad Complutense 1990. Tesis doctoral. Volume I, pp. 1069-1070.

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son Gaspar de Lucena, neighbor of Alcala de Henares, had inherited these lands.

Another document veridical in relation with Carlos de Lucena, which was provided by Carrete Parrondo, is from May 20, 1495 where it is recommended to condemn the quarrel²⁶²:

"the bachelor Iohan de Prado, comptroller of our counsel, in name of Maria de Prado, his sister, woman of Gomez de Bruitrigo, neighbor of Alcala de Henares" holds against Carlos de Lucena, neighbor of the same village, because "he says...Carlos de Lucena has bought from...Gomes de Bruitrigo and from...Maria de Prado...the inheritance of La Garcean, which in terms of...Alcala de Henares, by a given price", adding that they settled "that when she would receive se would return to... Carlos de Lucena the money that he gave would be inherited" and Lucena requested that "let's refer that business to...Alcala de Henares, in front of the ordinary justice...given that we were absent...from Madrid to...Burgos"

The Inquisitors decided to condemn and declare heretic the memory and fame of the deceased mother of Carlos de Lucena and declared the confiscation of her goods²⁶³, which for Carlos de Lucena was enough reason to reclaim the confiscated goods. As Diago comments, the goods of the mother were returned to Gaspar de Lucena, given the fact that some of them that had belonged to Catalina Ramirez figured in the confiscated goods of Gaspar de Lucena, son of Carlos de Lucena, years later²⁶⁴. The father of Carlos

²⁶² Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, fol. 109. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People* presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 177.

²⁶³ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, I – 1510. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 255.

²⁶⁴ Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición III-114 y Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid, Pleitos Civiles, Toboada, F. envoltorio 160, nº 5. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno

de Lucena's wife, Gonzalo Martinez, Trapero and neighbor of Soria, deceased in 1485, was accused of Judaize along with his wife²⁶⁵.

Carlos de Lucena apparently had three children: Petronila de Lucena, Gaspar de Lucena, and Juan del Castillo. Since Carlos de Lucena lived in Soria and in Alcala, keeping abreast of the relationship of his children, Diago thinks that Alcala had hosted a second marriage after the death of his first wife, the Sorian Beatriz Martinez²⁶⁶. The three siblings were put in jail later in the Inquisition years for their religious beliefs, in this case for being part of the group of the illuminati.

As is clear from the words of the master Diego Fernández concerning Petronila de Lucena, who for a short time served Diego Hurtado de Mendoza de la Vega y Luna, Duke of the Infantry (1461-1531), she had some sympathy towards Lutheranism:

"They took the deceased Duke of Ynfantazgo, who had sent for her to Maldonada, and after eight days of her having gone the Duke died. His brother Lucena and an attorney and a relative for her also went when they learned about the death of the Duke. And then the abovenamed Lucena told me in Santiago that he was the gentle duke and it was believed that he was involved in general salvation with the Lutherans. He said that his sister was a woman of high caliber and that if the duke lived he would surely talk to her which would prove why she was of a high caliber."

At the trial of Juan de Vergara, an event more important than the destruction of the Spanish erasmismo by the Inquisition, we saw the

sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 255.

²⁶⁵ Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fol.s 970r-v y 976r. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), p. 171.

²⁶⁶ **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 255.

three sons of Carlos de Lucena involved in this. His son Juan del Castillo was burned at Toledo in 1535 for Lutheranism, while his other son Gaspar de Lucena, had to publicly abjure in those years²⁶⁷.

Carlos Lucena (1453-1520) was an active political collaborator of the Kings and servant of the Cardinal Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza²⁶⁸. It was the same Carlos de Lucena who was judge of the debts of the Cardinal of Spain²⁶⁹. Carlos de Lucena tried years later to recover the confiscated goods of his mother Catalina Ramirez who was accused and trialed by the Holy Inquisition²⁷⁰. Carlos Ramirez de Lucena had probably continued the work of collector of rents of the monarchy of his father Juan Ramirez de Lucena, one of the most important businesspeople in the times of John II and Henry IV.

As a man of the Catholic Kings' court Carlos would constantly give services to the Kings. We also see him participating in the War of Granada and with respect to the city of Malaga checks in a book²⁷¹ that Carlos de Lucena from Soria belonged to the "honorary citizens that populated the

²⁶⁷ Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición 111-114 y Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid, Pleitos Civiles, Toboada, F. envoltorio 160, nº 5. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 255.

²⁶⁸ Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid, Pleitos Civiles Zarandona y Walls, Fenecidos Caja 303-1 y ss. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 260.

²⁶⁹ AGS, Registro General del Sello, I-1498, fol. 196; AGS, Registro General del Sello, III-1498, folio 104; AGS, Registro General del Sello, VI-1498, folio 34. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. 249-272. Citation in p. 260.

²⁷⁰ Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sello, I – 1510. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 255.

²⁷¹ **GARCÍA DE LA LEÑA, Cecilio** (1789). Conversaciones históricas malagueñas o materiales de noticias seguras. Parte II. Málaga Moderna. Málaga, pp. 163-164.

city". This active member of the Lucena clan was not exempt from quarrels as the document²⁷² from 1495 states:

May 20, 1495. Madrid. 2365, folio 109

In order for doctor Diaz del Castillo from the Royal Council to finish and sentence the quarrel of the bachelor Juan de Prado, comptroller of the Royal Council in name of Maria de Prado, his sister, woman of Gomez de Bruitrigo, neighbor of Alcala de Henares, treats against Carlos de Lucena, who had bought an inheritance to the cited Maria de Prado, with certain conditions. - Council

The Rabi Mayr Melamed, Jew influencer in a relationship with the Royal Estate, was baptized on June 15 of 1492 with the name Fernán Núñez Coronel. When Fernán Núñez Coronel died, there was a royal Order to check the accounts of the deceased Fernán Núñez Coronel and collect the debts that several people had to him. In those was mentioned the collector of Estate Carlos de Lucena²⁷³:

June 10, 1501, Granada

"Letter given from Pedro del Campo and Gonçalo de Segouia in order for them to inquire about the accounts of Fernand Núñez Coronel. Both are neighbors of Segovia". (CNMC, Leg. 45)

The kings expose how the executions and testaments of Fernán Núñez Coronel were in relation to them and how the books of Fernán Núñez and "for a memorial of the testament that he did at the time of his death" it appears that certain sums of money are owed and that "he had quarrels, debates, and differences with the people and councils and in a way that all will be contained and declared of that way":

(It is indicated that the debtor, in the liberty done by Hernan Núñez and that who rents. Apparently it describes that he who received the liberty did not justify his spending or employment. In other cases the debt is due to the management of rents done in the name of Hernan Núñez)

.....

²⁷² **ORTIZ DE MONTALBÁN, Gonzalo & MENDOZA LASSALLE, María Asunción de & PRIETO, Amalia** (1993). Registro general del sello: 1495. Volumen 12, p. 358.

²⁷³ **LADERO QUESADA, Miguel-Ángel** (2002). La receptoría y pagaduría general de la Hacienda regia castellana entre 1491 y 1494 (*De rabí Meir Melamed a Fernán Núñez Coronel*). In: En la España Medieval, 25, pp. 425-506. Citation in pp. 433 y 501.

6. Carlos de Lucena "what Fernán Núñez deposited in him and he devoted to what his companions had taken from the archbishops, he owes many maravedis to Fernán Núñez and his debts that Carlos had owed he did not charge".

From August 3 until October 27 of 1502 and from February 4 until April 3 of 1503 King Fernand stayed in Zaragoza²⁷⁴. Carlos de Lucena was probably in the queen's court during this period in Zaragoza, and owing to the fact that he was her servant until the death of Queen Isabella²⁷⁵, as we can learn from his words. For this Carlos was in Zaragoza, maybe along with the protonotary Juan Ramirez de Lucena, to meet his brother Fernando de Lucena who came along Felipe I the Beautiful and Mrs. Juana in October of 1502. It must have been October or November of 1502 that the members of the Holy Service put their hands on top of him to transfer the chambers of the holy Inquisition.

Carlos de Lucena was the collector of the goods of the exiled Jews, but since the accounts of the collecting were not complete, he had to go to court in 1497 to clarify the debt. Garcia Casar said²⁷⁶:

In 1497 Carlos de Lucena, neighbor of Alcala de Henares, is emplaced to present in the Court and respond to the accusation of certain collections done by Luis de Alcala, Juan Perez Coronel, and Iñigo López Coronel, his brother, who in 1520 will be the royal treasurer and accountant of the common Board of Tordesillas, deceased November 1, 1522. Other similar emplacings will receive the «German jury», neighbor of Talavera, Vallejo,

²⁷⁴ **RUMEU DE ARMAS, Antonio** (1974). Itinerario de los Reyes Católicos. Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Instituto Jerónimo Zurita. Madrid, pp. 282-285 y 289-291.

²⁷⁵ Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid, Pleitos Civiles Zarandona y Walls, Fenecidos Caja 303-1 y ss. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, (pp. 249-272), p. 260.

²⁷⁶ **GARCÍA CASAR, María Fuencisla**. Nuevas noticias sobre los Señero-Coronel segovianos. In: **MORENO KOCH, Yolanda & IZQUIERO, Ricardo** (2005). Del pasado judío en los reinos medievales hispánicos. Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Servicio de Publicaciones. Cuenca, pp. 135-146. Citation in p. 144

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Alonso de Illescas, Julian Alvarez, and Andres de Herrera neighbor of Toledo. In the meantime in 1494 Juan Perez Coronel trespasses with the royal authorization the charge that held as collector of the sales tax of Jerez and Carmona in favor of their son of the same name, nicknamed «el Mozo».

With this information we clarify the incognito brother of the pronounced, Juan Ramirez de Lucena with this long letter from December 26 1503 to King Fernando. An excerpt from the letter follows²⁷⁷:

“I certify V.A. that yes, Jews no, it is not possible that another is attested: and that of the Jews I do not marvel since as our enemies they have been cause of their expulsion, which has been attributed to me, causes that my brother was one of the deputies of commissary by V.A. to occupy their goods which they had with me and with my great enemy: and they joined to create false testimonies, which is proven and very public in this city. With this I say and beg to V.A. to command to write to the master Martin Garcias²⁷⁸ master Crespo, and master Ros to inform about what he knows that has been said”.

We know that Carlos Lucena was in the chambers of the holy Inquisition in 1504. Nonetheless, as informed by Antonio Castillo Gomez, in 1504 the council of the Village of Alcala was reunited in the city hall under the presidency of two representatives of the lord: the canon of the Toledo Church Pedro Suarez de Guzman, judge of the residency of the village community and land of Alcala, and Carlos de Lucena judge and justice of the same territory. The motive of this reunion was elaboration of some norms by means of 28 clauses for the «good governing and regiment» of the village²⁷⁹. In the beginning and at the end of the document we found:

1504, July 13, Alcalá de Henares

The council of Alcala de Henares, presided by the canon Pedro Suarez de Guzman, judge of the residence in the village and land of Alcala and

²⁷⁷ LLORENTE, Juan Antonio (1822). Historia crítica de la inquisición de España. Volume X, Madrid, pp. 173-183.

²⁷⁸ He was Canon of Zaragoza, then bishop of Barcelona and ambassador in Rome.

²⁷⁹ CASTILLO GÓMEZ, Antonio (1989). La administración municipal en Alcalá de Henares según las ordenanzas de 1504. In: Mayurqa, Nº 22, 1, pp. 153-165.

[Carlos de Lucena], judge and justice, grants ordinance for the good governing and regiment of the village.

Dated and granted were these ordinances in the village of Alcala de Henares on Saturday 13 July, year of the birth of our savior Jesus Christ of one thousand and five hundred four years, alongside the council of the village in the houses of your city hall, by the touched bell, second of what has been customary to use, and being in the cited city hall the misters. Mr. Pedro Suarez de Guzman of the council of Mr. Fray Francisco Ximenez archbishop of Toledo, our Lord, canonized in the Holy Church of Toledo, and judge of residence of the pronounced village of Alcala [and his land by the archbishop and Carlos Lucena, judge and justice in the]²⁸⁰ village and his land, and.....

Those who signed the document were Pedro Suarez de Guzman, Fernando Diaz, Lópe de Mendoza, and not Carlos de Lucena. During that period Carlos de Lucena was in the jail of the Holy Inquisition of Zaragoza, but the valuable document contributed by Castillo Gomez is confusing in this aspect, since we find the name of Carlos de Lucena in parentheses²⁸¹, which can imply that indeed Carlos de Lucena was not present in the city hall on July 13 of 1504. The document is valuable for showing that Carlos de Lucena was a judge in his daily life. It is confusing, since his name does not state judge in the beginning of the document of Father Meseguer Fernandez²⁸² that simply reads “Judge” without indicating the name of Carlos de Lucena in parentheses. It is also not implied in the ending of the document, given that the Father writes: “Pedro Suarez de Guzman of the council of Mr. Fray Francisco Ximenez, archbishop of Toledo, our lord, canonized in the Holy Church of Toledo, and judge of residence of pronounced village of Alcala and the sir [overused fold] judge and justice in the village and his land and.....”

²⁸⁰ **CASTILLO GÓMEZ, Antonio** (1989). La administración municipal en Alcalá de Henares según las ordenanzas de 1504. In: Mayurqa, Nº 22, 1, pp. 153-165. Citation in p. 165.

²⁸¹ **CASTILLO GÓMEZ, Antonio** (1989). La administración municipal en Alcalá de Henares según las ordenanzas de 1504. In: Mayurqa, Nº 22, 1, pp. 153-165. Citation in p. 160.

²⁸² **MESEGUER FERNÁNDEZ, Padre J.** (1974). El cardenal Cisneros en la vida de Alcalá de Henares. In: Archivo Ibero-Americano, Nº 136, pp. 505-549.

How long was Carlos de Lucena in jail? We do not know exactly, but in 1510 Carlos de Lucena reclaimed the confiscated goods of his mother Catalina Ramirez²⁸³. This implies that in 1510 - and probably before then - he was already out of the Holy Service of Zaragoza jail. The properties that Catalina Ramirez had were "the term EL Royal" next to the city of Soria alongside other goods. It was about half of the houses in Soria in the collation of San Clemente, half of an inheritance called Las Casillas, El Royal, and Royalejo. The named properties were returned to Carlos de Lucena²⁸⁴. On the other hand there was an inheritance very close to Alcalá de Henares²⁸⁵ and by which with prudence the historian Carrete Parrondo comments²⁸⁶:

I can't ascertain what is referred to in the document signed on May 20 of 1495²⁸⁷, according to which duty is given to doctor Fernando Diaz del Castillo of the royal council, sentences the quarrel "the bachelor Iohan de Prado, comptroller of our counsel, in the name of Maria de Prado, his sister, woman of Gomez de Bruitrigo, neighbor of Alcalá de Henares" holds against Carlos de Lucena, neighbor of the same village, because "he says...Carlos de Lucena has bought from...Gomes de Bruitrigo and from...Maria de Prado...the inheritance of La Garcean, which in terms of...Alcalá de Henares, by a given price", adding that they settled "that

²⁸³ AGS, Registro General del Sello, I-1510. Provisión dirigida a Carlos de Lucena, vecino de Alcalá. Se hace referencias a la condena de Catalina Ramírez. Cf. Notes 17 y 18. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. (249-272), Citation in p. 255

²⁸⁴ **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. (249-272), Citation in p. 255.

²⁸⁵ AHN, Inquisición, 111-114. Cited by **DIAGO, MÁXIMO** (1993). El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico, nuevos datos sobre su biografía. Sefarad, Volume 53-2, pp. (249-272), Citation in p. 256.

²⁸⁶ **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), pp. 177-178.

²⁸⁷ Archivo General de Simancas, RGS, fol. 109 (27 December, 1479?). Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (168 – 179), pp. 177-178.

when she would receive se would return to... Carlos de Lucena the money that he gave would be inherited" and Lucena requested that "let's refer that business to...Alcala de Henares in front of the ordinary justice...given that we were absent...from Madrid to...Burgos".

Effectively this was property of Carlos de Lucena²⁸⁸:

The Garena is an ancient dominion, similar to the one we have said about Camarmilla, that had a very capable country house, so much that the Mayor College with all the ministers of the University, servants, and servers of the College would go in to celebrate in a splendid banquet, and joyful ride of the last Thursday in Carnestolendas: and although in time this public and solemn recreation ceased to be kept there, the name of the Garena remained: and this term, and Mayorazgo is at present of Don Geronymo de Avila y Carranza, knight of Madrid. When the Parish of Santa Naria was renovated in 1533, a very noble man named of Relator arrived to work at the chapel, so we will say that the Lucenas made an arc in the door of this chapel as thick as two rods and covered it to form two chapels, the ancient with its White marble graves and shields of Arms of the Diaz de Toledo and others, and the new one which had an effigy of Our Lady written in the Ancient; of which the entrance had a grave with its shield with the words: *Buried here are Carlos de Lucena and his wife Maria del Castillo*. It does not state a time, but everyone says that this knight was Lord of the Garena, grandfather of whom we will speak. And you can see that those of the Losa, that is pending, like those left in the Wall but with a door in the Chapel of Saint Christ are claimed by the rocks, are very illustrated, although in different chapels, and different lineage, and the grave of Lucena who is not inside, but in the entrance of the Chapel of Our Lady of the Ancient, in no way does it prove patronizing of her given that it comes to be in the body of the Church. Greater effort was made in the Mendoza's' Chapel; since you cannot see signals, it was in the place where now lies the Baptizmal Pile, according to those in the same chapel; and it is true that it subsided in 1626. Let us not attribute it to the rebuilding in 1533. It matters to place some of Carlos de Lucena's testament. He lived in a few houses, bordering the main ones of the Mayorazgo of the Knights Abellanedas, which were inoculated and not free, but he had to sell to some of his inheritors. Talk cards and silence breads, and these will not defame anyone, by ignorance or malice. 253. The brotherhood of healing poor and sick, whose tenure was Our Lady of Compassion, as is said in the statutes made by V. Brother Fr. Francisco of Baby Jesus alongside others, Carmelita Descalço, and nurse of many in

²⁸⁸ **PORTILLA Y ESQUIVEL, Miguel** (1725). Historia de la ciudad de Compluto vulgarmente Alcala de Santiuste y aora de Henares, pp. 409-410.

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the Saint Hospital of Luis de Atnezana, many times named; in their file is translated Authentic of the Testament that was given by Carlos de Lucena, the knight.

The genealogical tree of Carlos Ramirez de Lucena could be put together with the data of a 1725 book that states:

Juan del Castillo (married) to Leonar Ramirez, procreated Maria del Castillo who married Carlos de Lucena, the Senior, and had their firstborn Carlos, the demented, as we saw in No. 252. And from his inheritor Gaspar, the Master Juan del Castillo, to Mrs. Leonor, Mrs. Petronila de Lucena, Mrs. Maria del Castillo, her brother Alonso, and Mrs. Juana del castillo who married said Melchor (widowed of Juana Ramirez).

Juan Ramírez de Lucena is mentioned in the Spanish literature as a pre-Erasmist. However, he was not the only one in the family with free thinking. His brother Carlos de Lucena also had a rather open mind that brought him in contact with the inquisition more than once and the same can be said of his children. One of them was Juan del Castillo, a former assistant of the Archbishop of Seville and Great Inquisitor Alfonso Manrique²⁸⁹:

Maestro Juan del Castillo told me that if he were seized he would die in the Lutheran sect, praising God and that even if they burned him alive he would not reveal (the names of) any of those whom he knew to be in the sect, so that they might live to expand it and greatly glorify God, and that if it were not for the Inquisition he would preach this, and that there were such fine Lutherans in Spain²⁹⁰.

Juan del Castillo, the influential medical doctor who was studied in theology and mystically inclined, was tracked to Paris, sought in Rome, and finally captured in 1533 in Bologna where he taught Greek. The Emperor and the Pope collaborated on his arrest. He was handed to the Inquisition of Barcelona and from there to Toledo. No doubt that he also caused problems to his brother Gaspara de Lucena and his sister Petronila de Lucena:

²⁸⁹ **FIRPO, Massimo** (2015). Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation, p. 20.

²⁹⁰ **LONGHURST, John E.** (1964). Luther's Ghost in Spain (1517-1546), Lawrence, Kansas, p. 224.


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An affiliated group comes before us in Toledo, centering around Petronila de Lucena, an unmarried woman of 25, living with her brother, Juan del Castillo. She had a high reputation for sanctity and was credited with thaumaturgic powers; when the Duke del Infantazgo was mortally ill, she was sent for, but too late. We hear of Maria Cazalla, Bernardino de Tovar and Francisca Hernandez; there are allusions to Erasmus, and Diego Hernandez had included her in his denunciations of Lutheranism. Letters to her from her brother, Gaspar de Lucena, are mere mystical maunderings, showing the atmosphere in which they lived, but the other brother, Juan del Castillo, then on trial, admitted many Lutheran doctrines—works were not necessary, Church precepts were not binding, man had not free-will, indulgences were useless and a book by (Ecolampadius had led him to disbelieve in transubstantiation. Both Juan and Gaspar were on trial, and we hear of another prisoner, Catalina de Figueredo. Petronila was arrested, with sequestration, May 7, 1534, and her trial pursued the ordinary course until March 20, 1535, when it was decided that, as the principal witness against her, Juan del Castillo, had revoked the evidence given under torture, she might be released on bail of a hundred thousand maravedis, which was promptly entered. In June she petitioned to be wholly discharged and that the sequestration be lifted; to this no attention was paid but a second application, -October 20, 1536 procured the removal of the sequestration. Gaspar de Lucena was sentenced to reconciliation and this was presumably the fate of Juan del Castillo unless he was impenitent. These cases show that the prevalence of the mingled heresies of Illuminism and Lutheranism was calling for repression, nor was this confined to Castile²⁹¹.

²⁹¹ LEA, Henry Charles (1907). History of the Inquisition of Spain, Vol 3 of 4, pp. 13-14.

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Family tree of Carlos Ramírez de Lucena

			<p>Simuel Pesquer x unknown wife 5 children?</p> <p>Among them Catalina Ramírez (daughter of Simuel Pesquer, Jew) Married in the year? (originating from Medinaceli²⁹² (Catalina condemned for heresy by the Inquisition)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Juan Ramírez de Lucena x Catalina Ramíre</p> <p>(Juan Ramírez de Lucena was collector of revenues of the Monarchs²⁹³)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">6 children:</p>			
1. Juan Ramírez de Lucena	2. Fernando Ramírez de Lucena	3. Diego Ramírez de Lucena	
4. Alonso Ramírez de Lucena	5. Constanza Ramírez de Lucena	6. Carlos Ramírez de Lucena	

²⁹² AGS, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fol. 990r. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (pp. 168 – 179), p. 171.

²⁹³ AGS, Escribanía Mayor de Rentas, Legajo 6. Varias noticias al respecto. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1992). Judíos y judeoconversos en Soria en el siglo XV. Volumen 43, N°. 84, (pp. 225-253), p. 239 y 250.

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6. Carlos Ramírez de Lucena (lived in Alcalá de Henares and in Soria. (He was very young in the service of Cardinal Mendoza) Married with Beatrix Martínez 3 children: Carlos de Lucena, el Loco (the foul) Gaspar de Lucena (processed by the Inquisition) Petronila de Lucena (processed by the Inquisition in 1530)	6. Carlos Ramírez de Lucena Married with María de Castillo 5 children: Master Juan del Castillo (processed by the Inquisition †) Alonso del Castillo Juana del Castillo María del Castillo Leonor del Castillo
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CHAPTER IV:

Index I.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE QUEEN ISABEL LA CATOLICA ON THE NEW POWERFUL DAMA IN THE ORIGIN OF THE DRAUGHTS AND MODERN CHESS GAME²⁹⁴.

Until now the different scholars practically limited themselves to indicating France as the country of origin of the draughts game, among them the famous chess scholar Harold James Ruthven Murray²⁹⁵ is emphasized. With respect to the new powerful dama in the modern chess game that was developed around the end of the XV century, the situation is not much better, since the scholars of this game believe that France, as well as Italy, could be the native countries of this modality of the game, in spite of the

²⁹⁴ WESTERVELD, Govert (1997). English Introduction in: La influencia de la reina Isabel la Católica sobre la nueva dama poderosa en el origen del juego de las damas y el ajedrez moderno”. ISBN 84-605-6372-3 - 329 pages – Foreword of Dr. Ricardo Calvo and of Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes - Universidad de Murcia (In Dutch language), pp. XIII-XVI.

²⁹⁵ MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 75.

fact that the first chess book, [Luis Ramírez of] Lucena, with such new modality dates from 1497 and is of Spanish origin²⁹⁶.

In draughts we see a similar situation, since the first Spanish books about the game²⁹⁷ of draughts have a very high level and date from the XVI century, while the first French book²⁹⁸ comes from the XVII century and the game described is a very elemental one. Contrary to this evidence, the scholars did not consider it necessary to grant Spain the honour of being the creative country of the game of draughts and of the new modality in the chess game with the new dama. How is it possible that the different scholars never took into account the rich Spanish bibliography on both games? Was it a linguistic problem or were there other existing circumstances that forbade this reasoning? In the case of draughts, this could be a reasonable cause for the Dutch scholars that did not master the Spanish language, but not for the English scholar Murray who knew several languages, among them Arabic. On the other hand, regarding the chess game it is difficult to accept that none of them knew the Spanish language. Therefore there had to be other motives for them to deny that Spain could be the country of origin of the new powerful dama in chess. Whatever it may be, there can be several motives, but happily in the last years we have observed a trend of two outstanding scholars that began to modify this point of view.

In the case of the new powerful dama in the chess game in Spain we rely on an outstanding chess investigator, Dr. Ricardo Calvo, who, since the eighties defends Spain as being the country of origin of the new powerful dama in the game of chess²⁹⁹. His investigations and

²⁹⁶ **LUCENA, [Luis Ramírez de]** (1497). Repetición de amores e arte de Axedres con CL Juegos de Partido. Salamanca.

²⁹⁷ **TORQUEMADA, Antonio de** (1547). El ingenio, ò juego de Marro, de punta, ò Damas. Valencia.

²⁹⁸ **MALLET, Pierre** (1668). Le jeu des dames - *Avec toutes les maximes et règles, tant générales que particulières, qu'il faut observer an icelui. Et la méthode d'y bien jouer*". - Paris.

²⁹⁹ **CALVO, Ricardo** (1985a). Un nuevo manuscrito de ajedrez del siglo XV. Revista Jaque. San Sebastián Año XV. Núm. 173. 15 de abril, pp 252-253.

CALVO, Ricardo (1985b). Ein neues Schachmanuskript aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Europa Rochade. Maintal. N.3, p. 28.

discoveries of ancient written chess manuscripts from the XV century make it possible to assert that this new property is of Spanish origin³⁰⁰.

With respect to the draughts game we must not forget to mention Ir. Gerard Bakker of Utrecht (Holland), who with an initial work in 1983 and another advanced one in 1987 praises the Spanish³⁰¹ origin of draughts from the alquerque and chess game. Those were good starting points, but still there were remaining dark points in the solidity of this hypothesis.

This is, humbly speaking, the purpose of this book, to seek evidence and to situate Spain in an outstanding place that it naturally deserves. For such effect we chronologically treat the texts studied between 1283 and 1700, gathering more than 950 bibliographical references that can be more easily consulted by future scholars.

From 1986 we maintain the hypothesis that the origin of the game of draughts is a Spanish one and to such effect we have sought answers and evidence for some 10 years. We started on the basis of the fact that the chess game reflects the royal situation of a time. So we can ask ourselves why the queen in the modern chess game has more power than the king. If we study the life of Spanish royalty in the XV century we see that this question is not so difficult to answer. There was, in 1469 a dama in Castille that was married to a future king of Aragon, Fernando. Some years later, in 1475, this dama, Isabel la Católica, was crowned queen with greater effective power than her husband, Fernando. So much, so that when Spain in 1492 was released from the last Moorish outpost in Granada, discovering America and enforcing one sole religion in its territory, it was suddenly justified to use in chess a new queen with more power than her "king". But, concerning the name "dama", what is its origin? We know that the word "domina" was already translated in the XIV century by the French word "dame" in chess manuscripts and it is supposed that

CALVO, Ricardo (1985c). Un nouveau manuscrit échiquéen du XV siècle. Europe Echecs. Besançon. N. 319-320. juillet - Août, pp 434-435.

³⁰⁰ **CALVO, Ricardo** (1991). Birthplace of modern chess. New in Chess, Alkmaar (Holanda). Núm. 7:82-89.

³⁰¹ **BAKKER, IR. Gerard** (1983). Damtijsdhrift *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 44.

BAKKER, IR. Gerard (1987). Damtijsdhrift *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 42-46.

in the XV century, due to the influence of the printed books of Jacobus of Cessolis, one began to use frequently in Spain the dama term for the queen in chess. But was it not also due to the idealization of the woman to dama in court poetry, where the supremacy of the dama is one of the characteristics of the frustrated love?

The new modality of the game in chess was given several names abroad. Thus, we see contemptuous terms as: "alla rabiosa" in the Italian translation and of "dame enragée" in the French translation. In Spain we see a neutral term: "Axedrez de la dama". Motive by which we also believe that France as well as Italy cannot be the country of origin of this new type of chess. Other historians asked themselves how it was possible that this peculiarity of the game could be introduced and maintained in all the European countries. This is not so difficult to explain if we take into account the fact that in 1492 Spain banished some 250.000 Jews from its land, who were distributed all over Europe with all its political and economic influence. Furthermore, the Spanish king Carlos V spent more time away from Spain than within its boundaries in function of the defence of the Spanish hegemony in Europe.

The new "powerful" dama of the chess game would have much to do with the invention of draughts and with the use of this new piece. To such effect we have chronologically treated in this work the bibliographical texts, whose commentaries are mostly translated into Dutch. The original texts are basically Spanish, though we have not forgotten to mention the most notable foreign books in Latin, German, English, French, Italian and Dutch.

The first chapter deals with ancient Egyptian games, since they were considered erroneously by some scholars³⁰² as precursors of the dama. In the same chapter reference is made to the "Ludus Latrunculorum" game, that was taken by Thomas Hyde³⁰³ as antecedent of the draughts-game. Below are described similar games to the now disappeared "Ludus Latrunculorum", some of those which still exist. Chapter two describes

³⁰² **WILKINSON, John Gardner** (1878). The manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians. Editie van Samuel Birch, London.

³⁰³ **HYDE, Thomas** (1694). De Ludis Orientalibus, Oxford. Deel II.

a board game with squares (alternatively white and yellow?) the "Jaldeta", that was forbidden in the XIII century and was no longer practised around the end of the XV century. In chapter three we see ourselves in the Spain of the XV century, being able to observe the general influence of the Queen "Isabel la Católica". We discuss the expulsion of the Jews and the conversion of the Moors to the catholic religion. It was between 1474 and 1492 when the new powerful dama was developed and this time it can be considered as a dormant stage. The definitive beginning originated in 1492 when the queen was at the height of her reign : 1. Conquest of the Morish outpost "Granada"; 2. Discovery of America; 3. Expulsion of the Jews; 4. Loss of power of the nobility due to the administrative reforms.

In chapter 4 the Latin terms "scuporum" and "calculorum" are examined. In the subsequent chapters (5, 6, 7, 8,) Spanish words, which previously were designated to the draughts-game, such as "marro", "marro de punta", "andarraya" and "alquerque" are studied in detail. We demonstrate with bibliographical proofs that "punta" does not mean field, as Branch³⁰⁴, Murray³⁰⁵, Kruijswijk³⁰⁶ and Van der Stoep³⁰⁷ claim, rather "punta" means diagonal. Thus the game "marro de punta" is nothing more than a game with a diagonal direction. The denominations "marro" and "marro de punta" belong to the kingdom of Aragon and those of "andarraya" and "alquerque" to the kingdom of Castille.

The ancient word "trecha", that years afterwards was converted into "treta", is analyzed in chapter 9. Apparently the word "castro" (castles game) had a certain link to draughts in Turkey and Palestinian. In chapter 10 this expression is studied in detail. In chapter 11 we extensively analyze the Latin term "domina" and the word "dama". In the conclusion of this chapter different modalities of draughts in different countries are

³⁰⁴ **BRANCH, William Shelley** (1911). The history of checkers from the earliest known date. Its evolution and growth, Cheltenham, England. Written for Pittsburg Leader between October 8, 1911 - April 14, 1912.

³⁰⁵ **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1913). A history of chess, Oxford, p. 399.

MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 75.

³⁰⁶ **KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966). Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel, Den Haag, p. 53.

³⁰⁷ **STOEP, Arie van der** (1984). A history of draughts, Rockanje, p. 81.

described. Also, in the following chapter the lost book of Antonio de Torquemada is examined. In 13 a vast study on the book of Juan de Timoneda, printed in 1635, is discussed. According to our investigations some of those texts could date from 1550. It is quite possible that some of the positions of draughts that appear in this book will be similar to those which are described in the book of Torquemada.

The Spanish draughts books between 1547 and 1996 and the first European draughts books are discussed in chapter 14, as well as the Spanish game books of the period of 1283-1700. At the beginning of the XIX century, Jose Paluzie y Lucena established the first Spanish bibliographical study of chess³⁰⁸.

In this modest text we do something similar with draughts. To the existing bibliographical lists in other history books about draughts we can add a draughts book of 1792³⁰⁹ found by Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes³¹⁰ and a manuscript of the year 1690 we found in an Andalusian library³¹¹. Until now a complete relationship among all the Spanish books, referred to the games in the period 1283-1700, had not been established. Thus our investigations could fill that vacuum. In chapter 15 hypothesis of other draughts scholars are submitted to discussion and furthermore a point of view is offered on the development of the game of alquerque of 12 up to our current draughts. Much evidence exists to assert that Valencia could be the kingdom of origin of draughts, similar to the powerful dama in the chess game, according to the opinion of the chess scholar Dr. Ricardo Calvo. Finally, the Spanish bibliophile of Spanish draughts books, Victor Cantalapiedra Martin, expounds in Spanish language, his knowledge of the said books in chapter 16.

³⁰⁸ **PALUZIE Y LUCENA, José** (1912). Primer ensayo de bibliografía Española de ajedrez, Barcelona 1912, pp. 8-11.

³⁰⁹ **GARCIA, Josef Antonio** (1792). Garcia juego de Damas (....), Murcia.

³¹⁰ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1992). Damtijdschrift: *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 87.

³¹¹ **CANONIGO, EL** (1750?). Libro de Juego de Damas, Granada.

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³¹² **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1994). *Homo Ludens, Der Spielende Mensch IV. Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule Mozarteum Salzburg, Salzburg.*

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Revision: Ken Whyld (United Kingdom).

Index II. Dama Loçana

Una dama mui loçana,
de gran virtud y nobreza,
tenía vna fortaleza
d'un camino mui cercana.
Poníase a la ventana
Muchas vezes a prazer,
con voluntad y con gana
de nuevas nuevas saber.
Y d'allí pudiendo ver
A qualquiera que passaua,
vn su villano mandaua,
que los huesse a detener.
Un gentil hombre passando,
y an otro, y otro después
(de modo que pasan tres,
sus aventuras buscando)
todos tres van sospirando
sin prazer y sin dinero,
cada qual por sí quexando,
quexosos mui por entero,
de señores el primero,

y de amigos el segundo,
y el otro de todo el mundo,
qu'es el tercer compañero.
Passando por tal lugar
Todos tres ya tardezillo,
la señora del castillo
lo vido lugo passar,
y mandólos esperar
con este que hauéis oýdo,
y ella les baxó a hablar
por seguralle el partido.
Como a todos tres los vido
tan onestos cortesanos,
tomó a los dos por hermanos,
y al vno por su marido.
Pues, este primer galán
Jacinto tiene por nonbre,
y al segundo gentil hombre
Precioso le llamarán,
y el tercero d'este afán
Phenicio sé que se llama,
y Pagano aquel gañán,
y Diuina aquella dama.
La qual por ser de tal fama,
dada a tan nobres prazeres,
se dirá bien de mugeres,
y mal de quien las disfama.

INDEX III.

Sermon en alabanza de los Reyes Católicos por la conquista de Granada

(Sermon in praise of the Catholic Monarchs for the conquest of Granada)

(f.101r)... por feo y pernicioso que fuese contra Dios y contra la República.

En estos mesmos días, vimos la fe de Cristo, nuestro redemptor, muy tibia y mortificada en los coraçones de los fieles. Y vimos, ansimesmo, la santa madre Iglesia, que al prinçipio por su verdadero sposo, Ihesu Christo, havia seído muy bien fundada, sobre piedra muy firme, e después por la predicación y dotrina de los santos Apósteles confirmada, e por las virtudes y méritos de los Santos acresçentada, e por la devoçión de los príncipes y reyes cathólicos magníficamente dotada, vímosla estar muy postrada, y de su verdadero decor y fermosura con que solía resplandescer caída, y de su verdadero decor y fermosura con que solía resplandescer caída y defigurada; y lo que peor es, y más de dolor: que de zizanias, errores y heregías de herética pravedad estava llena.

¿Y quién podría dezir los errores heréticos que, por diversas maneras y formas, el enemigo humano, Sathanás, sembró en los coraçones de muchos de los que en estos reinos havían reçevido agua de batismo? Es buen testigo la experiençia de los inquisidores de la herética pravedad, los quales, con grande zello y fervor de la fee, Vuestra Real Majestad mandó deputar para haver de erradicar de la Iglesia los tales errores y heresías.

Pero aun a todos estos incómodos males en que la Iglesia y toda Spaña stava, se acresçia otro daño muy prinçipal, que era el reino de Granada, el qual, como enemigo familiar de Spaña que por spacio quasi de ochoçientos años, en mucha injuria y offensa de Dios, y en grande daño y escándalo del pueblo cristiano, y en grande confussión asimesmo de los príncipes y reyes antepasados, fue y ha seído posseído de los moros, enemigos de nuestra santa fee, de los quales inmensos daños han reçevido los fieles cristianos.

¿E quién podrá explicar la crueldad y sobervia de que los moros han [...] (f. 101v) [mi]serable caída y perdiçion de Spaña, los moros, dilatando su poder y fuerças desde este reino de Granada, muchas e infinitas muertes, captividades, robos y daños hizieron a los cristianos. Ni se podría ligeramente dezir cuánto cruel fue el cuchillo de los moros en el tiempo pasado contra el pueblo cristiano, porque por todas las partes del Andalucía los moros hazían grandes y crueles daños, robando y quemando lugares, violando templos e iglesias, derrocando altares y echando el santíssimo sacramento de la Eucaristía a los perros. Con sus lanças derribavan las imágenes de Cristo, nuestro redemptor, y de su sacratíssima Madre y de los otros santos, y por vituperio las hollavan en el lodo; matavan y captivavan muchos cristianos, poniéndolos so yugo de captividad muy duro y muy cruel; con las mugeres cristianas, que ansí tenían captivas, conplían sus desordenadas y libidinosas voluntades...

¡Ó malaventurada infidelidad, que tenía atrevimiento para haver de tener en tan estrecha captividad las ánimas de los fieles a Dios dedicadas! ¡Malaventurada crueldad de paganos, que tenía osadía de poner debaxo de la servidunbre de Sathanás las ánimas fieles que fueron redemidas y libertadas por la preciosa sangre de Cristo, nuestro redemptor!

Todos estos detrimientos y daños, y otros muchos en que España estava, vos, Sereníssimos Príncipes, con armas de fee y justiçia, haviades de remediar según que el bienaventurado señor Sant Juan Apóstolo, vuestro patrón, scrivió en el Apocalipsi, donde dize que, entre los otros secretos que le fueron revelados de parte de Dios, fue uno que vio una grande bestia que sobía de la mar, la qual tenía siete cabeças [y diez cuernos; y sobre los cuernos tenía diez diademas, y sobre sus cabezas] (f. 102r) nonbres de grandes blasfemias. Y en el cuerpo era semeiante al leonpardo, y la boca era como de león, y los pies eran como pies de osso; y fuele dada boca para fablar grandes blasfemias y fuele dado poder para pelear con los santos.

Esta imaníssima y crudelíssima bestia affirman nuestros Doctores ser mienbros del Anticristo, el qual reina y reinó mucho en los tiempos pasados, en los réprobos y malos, los quales, siguiendo los siete viçios y pecados capitales y trespasando los diez mandamientos de la ley de Dios, afflijen mucho la Iglesia y mienbros de ella, y blasfeman de continuo el santo nonbre de Cristo.

Por el cuerpo del leonpardo es significada la perversidad de los judíos, porque Sathanás, transfigurado en forma y figura de leonpardo, inçita y comueve los coraçones perversos de los judíos para que perviertan las ánimas de los fieles christianos y las maten con error de la herética pravedad, trayéndolos a sus ritos y çerimonias.

Por la boca de león, el qual es cobdiçioso de derramar sangre, es significada la crueldad e injusticia de los tiranos, los quales, en los tienpos pasados, hizieron muchas opresiones, violençias, injusticias y daños a las çibdades y pueblos de España.

Por los pies del osso es figurada la crueldad e inmundiçia de luxuria de Mahomat y de sus mienbros, de la qual fasto agora, por permission de Dios, ellos han usado.

E aplicando esto a nuestro propósito, digo que como España stuviese puesta en todos estos trabajos, aflitiones y males, y de cada día fuese en perdiçion, plugo al muy poderoso Dios de oír y rescebir las plegarias y oraçiones de algunas buenas perso[nas] [...] de nuestro redemptor. (f. 102v) E plugo, asimesmo, a su divinal clemençia de dar a los cristianíssimos príncipes por reyes y reparadores de todos

estos males, a quien fue dado por Dios poder para erradicar y extirpar los errores y heregías de su Iglesia, para vencer las armas de los enemigos, para domar los cuellos sobervios de los protervos y malos que estavan puestos en perturbar la paz de la Iglesia y de la República.

E a vos, ambos sagrados príncipes, ellegió Dios no sólo para la eternal bienaventurança en la otra vida, mas aun en ésta os ellegió speçialmente entre todos los mortales para que, con vuestra mano y con su ayuda y poder divinal, fuese recobrada y reparada la miserable Spaña, la qual por los pecados del pueblo cristiano tanto tiempo havía seído afligada, y para que con vuestra mano, asimesmo, la Iglesia fuese restituida en su decor y gloria, y para que se quitase otrosí de estos reinos el grande obprobio que Spaña ha tenido y en que ha estado tantos tienpos, a causa de la ocupación del reino de Granada por los infieles moros, enemigos de nuestra santa fee y religión cristiana.

Para lo qual todo, Dios todopoderoso, que como verdadero gobernador ordena no sólo los fines mas los medios convenientes a ellos, vos dio tales armas a las quales los enemigos y adversarios no pudiesen resistir, por quanto aquella águila çestial que defiende vuestras armas es aquella de que, en el Apocalipsi, se dize que, volando por medio del cielo, clamaba y dezía a grandes bozes: «ve, ve, ve!, habitantibus in terra...», que quiere dezir: «¡guay,guay, guay!, ¡quántos males son aparejados a los moradores de la tierra!...»

E esta águila ser vuestras sereníssimas personas no se dubda, porque vos, muy poderosos príncipes, mirando desde lejos con grande prudencia las quiebras y males de Spaña y (f. 103r) con maravilloso linaje de remedios procurastes de lo reparar y remediar como convenía, en tal manera que las corruptiones y males de estos reinos, que nunca los bivientes pensaron ver remediados, en pocos años, con la ayuda del soberano Dios y con vuestra muy ardiente fee y continuo trabajo, los vimos milagrosamente remediados y en toda razón, justicia y retitud puestos.

¡Ó, maravillosa mudança, fecha en tan breve tiempo por la mano de Dios y de vos, sus muy amados príncipes, ca oy, por vuestra mano, vemos reparada con grand honor la perdición de Spaña!

¡Bienaventurada caída, pues meresçió alcançar tan grande y tan saludable remedio! ¡Ó, suavíssimo médico Christo, que con la fee y santas obras de estos sus muy catholicos príncipes curó todas nuestras llagas, enfermedades y males! ¡Ó, tienpos bienaventurados, en los quales vemos resplandeçer la fee de Ihesu Christo en las frentes de nuestros príncipes y reyes, y vemos que la fe es ensalzada en la Iglesia y que vence los enemigos, y vemos que la justiçia reina en las cibdades, villas y lugares, y clama por los caminos y vías públicas! ¡Ó, preclaros días en que tan excelentes y milagrosas cosas se han fecho! ¡Bienaventurados ojos que las meresçieron y alcançaron ver! ¡Ó, inmensa clemençia divinal, digna de todo loor y alabança que, alañados y quitados tantos y tan grandes males de Spaña, dispuso de nos dar tan inmensos benefiços por mano de estos sus príncipes! ¡Ó, poderío divinal! ¡Ó, fee invictíssima! ¡Ó, cetro y poder real! ¿Qué mayor gloria y preclara fama puede ser de vos, cristianísimos reyes, y de vuestros reinos, que ver que en aquellas çibdades, villas y lugares donde fasta aquí ha seído venerada la horrible e inmundada seta de Mahomat, mienbro prinçial de Sathanás, veamos agora puestos los estandartes y señas de la preçiosa cruz de nuestro redenptor? [...]

(f. 103v) justamente dezir y tomar por mote lo que dize el bienaventurado señor Sant Juan, vuestro patrón: «Hec est victoria que vincit munduz: fides nostra» «Esta es la verdadera victoria que haze vençer el mundo y las cosas de él: nuestra santa fe cathólica»

E nosotros podremos bien dezir: «A Domino factuz est istud et et mirabile in oculis nostris». «Este tan grande caso ha seído de Dios y ha seído cosa maravillosa en nuestros ojos»

Por tanto, con mucha razón se debe alegrar la Iglesia y gozar toda Spaña, diziendo, con el propheta: «A solis ortu usque ad occasuz laudabile nomen Domini.» «Desde do nasce el sol fasta donde se pone, sea loado y alabado el nonbre del Señor». E diziendo, asimesmo: «Letentur celi, exultet terra, comoveantur mare et plenitudo eius orbis terrarum et universi qui habitat in eo.» «Alégrense los cielos, gózese la tierra, comuévase la mar con alegría y todo el universo mundo y quantos en él moran se gozen mucho»

Dezimos que se alegren los çielos porque los que son dedicados al culto divino que son entendidos por los çielos, como son los clérigos y religiosos, han agora mucho de gozarse y cantar himnos de alabança, magnificando y enarrando la gloria de Dios.

Dezimos que se goze la tierra porque los que son dados a las cosas terrenas del mundo, como son los legos seglares, es razón que con mucho gozo alaben a Dios y le glorifiquen.

Dezimos que se comueva el mar porque el siglo de los malos, que se entiende por el mar, aun es razón que de tan inmensos beneçiõs fagan graçias a Dios.

Dezimos que se alegre todo el mundo porque todos los fieles cristianos que en el mundo son se han mucho de alegrar y fazer inmensas graçias a Dios, por la exaltaçion de nuestra santa fee y por el acrescentamiento del culto divino.

En speçial, se debe gozar la santa Iglesia de Toledo, la qual no sólo por corporal decenso de [...] (f. 104r) ser dedicada, mas aun decorada de muchos insignes y santos pontífices, los quales, en deffensión de nuestra santa fee contra los herejes, y en las batallas y victorias contra los moros en el tiempo de los reyes pasados, fueron muy fervientes y hizieron mucho serviçio a Dios y provecho al pueblo cristiano.

Eugenio, primero arçobispo, mártir glorioso, después que quitó los errores de la gentilidad, convertió a Toledo y a toda su provinçia a la fee de Ihesu Christo. Señor Sant Illifonso y Sant Juliano, pontífices gloriosos, con su san dotrina erradicaron muchas heregias y persiguieron muchos herejes en Spaña, y edifficaron en las ánimas de los fieles la verdadera fee y ley de Cristo. Pues contra los moros el arçobispo don Rodrigo, en la insigne batalla y gloriosa victoria que se ovo contra el rey miramalín, al lado del rey don Alonso (de buena memoria) se falló, con grand fe y esfuerço; asimesmo, el cardenal don Gil en la batalla que se ovo contra el rey de Velamarín. Y no menos agora, don Pero Gonzálea de Mendoça, cardenal clarissimo y arçobispo dignissimo, ha seído presente a todos vuestros gloriosos triumphos y victorias, ayudando y favoresçiendo mucho con su actoridad, consejo y armas.

Gózensen, otrosí, los otros perlados, duques, marqueses, condes, cavalleros y scuderos, y todos los otros fieles cristianos que en esta santa enpresa han aconpañado a sus altezas, y ayudado con personas, armas y hazienda, pues plugo a Dios de dar tan glorioso fin y tan deseado.

Gózensen asimesmo las ánimas de todos aquellos que en esta santa guerra morieron, pues mereçieron por ello bivar para siempre y conseguir tan grande bienaventurança en el çielo, pues, con mucha alegría y gozo, demos y fagamos todos universalmente inmortales gracias a Dios; y no sólo esto debe ser con ánimos [...] (f. 104v) alabanças de Dios, con bozes sensibles y corporales.

A vos, muy poderosos príncipes, que por deffensión de nuestra santa fee y religión cristiana tan esclareçidas armas vestistes, a tantos y tan grandes peligros vuestras reales personas exposistes, tan inmensos trabajos tollerastes, tan magníficos sunptos fesistes, tanto quanto podemos, congratulamos; tanto quanto podemos, hazemos inmensas graçias por ello; e todas nuestras orationes y sacrificios, que en rogar a Dios por vuestra reales personas fasta agora hezimos, bendezimos y loamos y somos muy alegres en las haver a Dios offresçido; los subsidios con que para esta santa guerra ayudamos, damos por bien enpleados.

E, allende de esto, reconosçemos a nosotros mesmos por tan obligados a Vuestra Real Majestad quanto los grandes benefiçios que de vuestros santos triumphos a toda la Iglesia s han seguido requieren y demandan, por lo qual, de oy en adelante, en nuestras oraçiones y sacrificios seremos muy más vigilantes para haver de rogar de continuo a Dios por vuestro inperio y stado real, por vuestra gloria y splendor, y por vuestra ínclita prole. E por su serviçio haremos todas las cosas que nuestra orden y profesión requieren, ni nos será grave ni penosa cosa ninguna que por Vuestra Alteza nos sea mandada. Porque vos, invictíssimos príncipes, havéis dado fin a cosa tan ardua y tan digna de vuestra real profesión quanto nunca se dio por ningunos reyes antepasados, ca havéis magníficamente ensalçado las cosas de nuestra fee y havéis de raíz extirpado los errores y heregías de la Iglesia; havéis mucho ensanchado el heredamiento de Cristo y términos de la República; no havéis dado

lugar que en vuestros días el nombre de Cristo fuese de los moros infieles conculca[do ni blasfe]mado.

E lo que más es, y por don divinal (f. 105r) a vos conceso: que no solamente con esta singular victoria havéis ganado el reino de Granada, mas aun havéis abierto grandes caminos para poder recobrar aquella Tierra Santa, donde nuestro redemptor converso reçibió muerte y passión, resucitó, subió a los Cielos y dende al fin ha de venir a juzgar los bivos y los muertos.

Pues si Josías, rey de Judá y de Jerusalén, meresçió ser santificado porque quitó la idolatría e infidelidad del pueblo, ¡quánto más vos, rey y reina exçelentíssimos!, que con muy grand zelo de la fee cathólica (mas que no por anpliar vuestros reinos temporales), havés estirpado los errores y heregías de la Iglesia y pueblo cristino y ensalçado con gloria del culto divinal, havéis cobrado la tierra de los enemigos, redemidos todos lso cristianos captivos, e, allende de esto, havéis dado paz a los ánimos de vuestros súbditos, y a los cuerpos folgança y a las haziendas seguridad.

E por tanto, vuestro loor con digno meresçimiento le canta la Iglesia, diziendo con el Ecclesiástico: «Quia vos estis qui a generationibus adepti estis gloria», que quiere dezir que vos, sagrados príncipes, havéis conseguido y ganado más gloria que ningunos príncipes ni reyes antepasados. «Et ideo memoria vostra in generatione seculorum et nomina vostra vivent in eternum». «Por eso vuestra memoria durará mientras hoviere gentes en el mundo e vuestros preclaros nonbres bivirán para sienpre»: en el Çielo, por gloria, y aquí, por fama.

Ni los que vinieren serán tan sordos, tan çiegos, tan ingratos ni de tan poco conosçimiento que hayan de olvidar los preclaros nonbres de Fernando y Helisabeth, rey y reina precalaríssimos, sin que hayan de comemorar y tener en la memoria los grandíssi[mos benefiçios] (f. 105v) que a toda la cristiandad se han seguido, por los cuales nosotros, en nonbre de la santa Iglesia de Toledo y de todo el stado ecclesiástico, no tenemos cosa más digna que podamos offresçer a vuestra Real Majestad que nuestros mismos ánimos, los cuales Dios adornó de su santa imagen. De estos, y de todo lo ál, disponga Vuestra Alteza según vieren que más conviene a su serviçio.

Y, dando ya fin a mis palabras, aunque no a los loores y alabanças de tan gloriosos príncipes (ca estos no se podrían en pocos días dezir), ¿quién nunca vido reyes tan cathólicos que tan grande exenplo de virtudes y materia de bien bevir diesen a sus súbditos? ¿Quién nunca vido reyes usar de tanta piedad y misericordia con los pobres aflitos que tovesen continuo en sus reales hospital proveído de todas las cosas nesçesarias para remedio de los pobres enfermos y feridos? ¿Quién nunca vido reina que diese las mulas de su real persona y de sus damas para que truxesen a los probezicos enfermos y feridos y que estavan postrados en el canpo sin ningún remedio? ¿Quién nunca vido reina tan cristianíssima que tovese monesterio de mugeres figas de algo en su casa, so tanta clausura y observança donde, durante todo el tiempo de esta santa guerra, se ofresçieron a Dios continuas plegarias y oraciones, con muchos ayunos y abstinencias, como en el más estrecho monesterio del reino? ¿Quién nunca vido rey tan cristianíssimo y tan humano, tan extrenuo en las armas, que usase de la guerra no como rey mas como igual y compañero?

E porque, como dixe, para haver de dezir de las excelen[çias] [...] (f. 106r) y cristianísimos príncipes no bastaría el día ni la noche. Por tanto, resérvese para otro lugar y tiempo y al presente no resta, salvo que todos muy affectuosamente roguemos al muy soberano Dios, por quien los reyes reinan, que a vos, Excelentísimos Príncipes, con vuestra ínclita prole quiera prosperar, conservar y sublimar, y por luengos tienpos os faga reina, con mayores triumphos y más gloriosas victorias. E a Él plega sienpre tener vuestros puros coraçones con su mano divinal, para que, pospuesta agora toda sobervia, en esta tan grande gloria y prosperidad conservés más para con Dios la virtud de la humilldad, como se lee que fizo el santo rey David, el qual, después que le dio Dios grandes victorias de sus enemigos, se humilló más delante de Dios, diziendo que el mesmo Dios se havían de atribuir las tales victorias, que él no era nada salvo un poco de polvo y de çeniza.

Pues plega al muy poderoso Dios de alunbrar los entendimientos de vos, gloriosísimos príncipes, para que a vos y a vuestros súbditos podáis enderesçar en camino de paz y salud eternal. Amén.

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